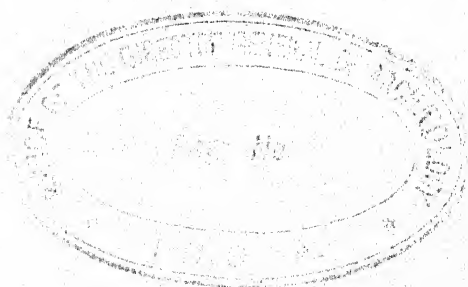


HISTORY OF PALESTINE





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HISTORY OF PALESTINE

THE LAST TWO THOUSAND YEARS

By JACOB DE HAAS

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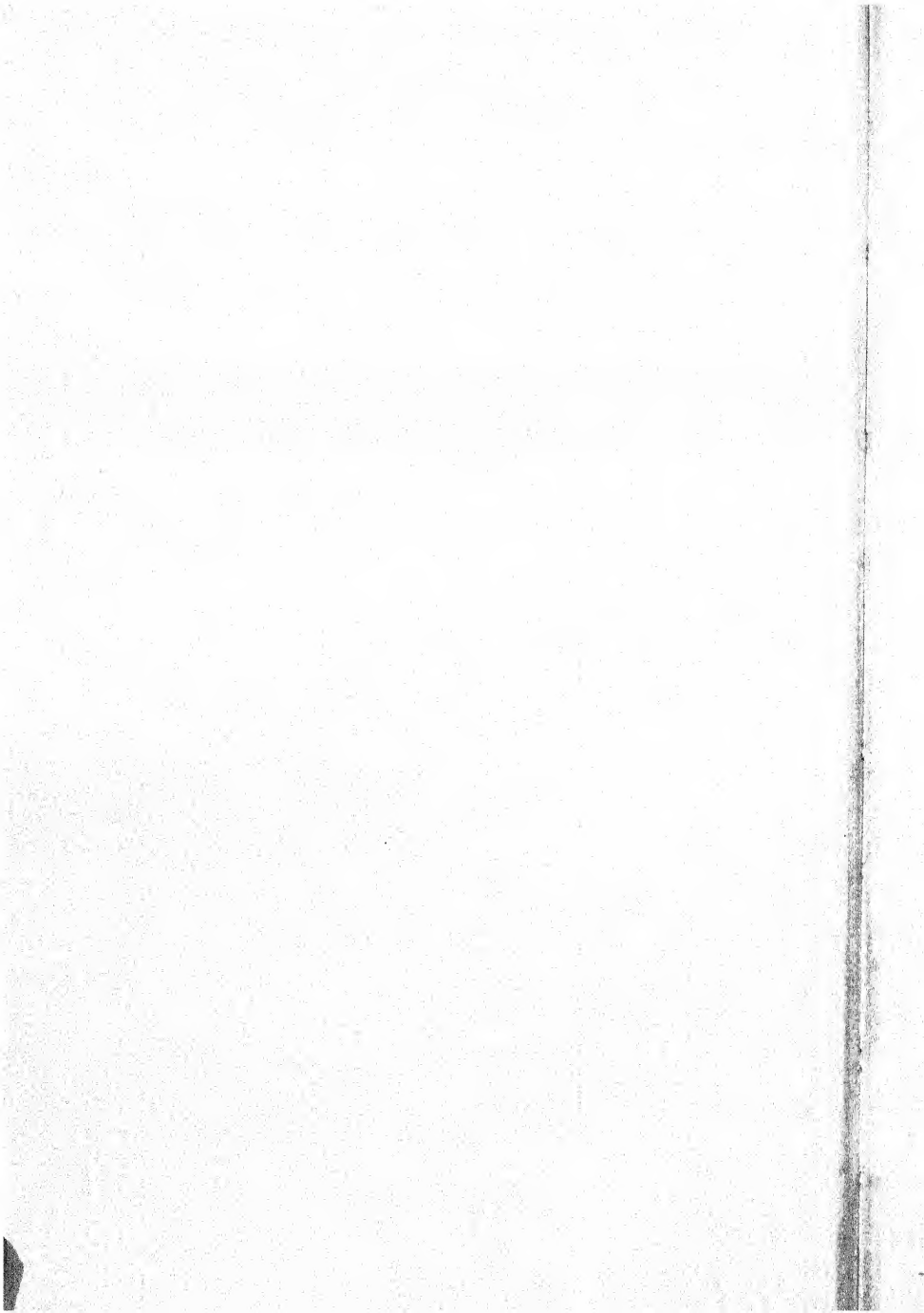
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DEDICATED
TO
THE OUTSTANDING AMERICAN
MOST KEENLY INTERESTED IN PALESTINE
JUSTICE LOUIS D. BRANDEIS





PREFACE

THE compression of the last two thousand years of Palestinean history within the limits of a single volume, presented numerous difficulties. Though in the introduction the remoter backgrounds have been lightly sketched, the writer avoided the pre-biblical and biblical periods. The archeological discoveries made in recent years and the prospective results of the excavations now in process, will have to be evaluated before a new and useful content of political, social and economic facts can be poured into the fixed outline established by the Bible and Josephus. Because no more than current comment may be applied to history while in the making, the temptation has been withstood to analyze and summarize the wealth of material accumulated since Palestine came under the British mandate.

The literature on Palestine in all languages, is extremely numerous. In some respects the detailed information available is almost overwhelming in its minutiae. For some interesting periods, however, a small nugget of fact is the only reward for the patient sifting of tons of verbal ore. Much that has been written about Palestine has been inspired by the reverent desire to establish the literal accuracy of biblical passages, whether they describe past conditions or presage the future. Many authors have speculated in the interest of some pet theory, and as many have yielded to the enticement of archeological disputation.

Hopeful of its future the author in 1900 sought for a useful, balanced history of Palestine. Kitto's four hundred and twenty-six interesting pages contained less than three pages devoted to all that happened in Palestine since 1291. Other periods were treated even more scantily. Munk, though a little kinder to the sixteenth century, was wholly fugitive in his

treatment of other periods. Episodic histories there were aplenty, but they began and ended abruptly. Even painstaking archeologists cultivated this disjunctive and intermittent attitude. In all books treating of the country, the great blanks were between the third century and the Crusades, and from the fall of the Latin Kingdom to present times. This treatment created a well-defined state of mind towards everything Palestinean. A single illustration will serve. In the nineteenth century, a period of intense investigation, Palestine was largely treeless, its rocks exposed, and the land poorly cultivated. To the pious this was evidence of the fulfillment of a curse. To the sceptic it was proof that the biblical writers exaggerated; the land was infertile, and the country hopeless. A third group accepted the Bible as accurate but speculated on climatic changes, and the drying up of water courses to explain the difference between the past and the present.

The author had no preconceived theories. To fill a blank in his own knowledge he devoted the leisure of thirty years to patient research and a careful study of the topography and historic sites. The Palestine thus discovered differs materially from the accepted picture. That the dry southland of Palestine once blossomed and sustained a considerable population, that Trans-Jordan is a ruin wrought by the Tartar horde, that just one hundred years ago Palestine had a period of prosperity will surprise the majority of readers. Equally unexpected will be the tracing of the immediate pre-war conditions to identifiable policies adopted in the seventeenth century. The author's objective was to know the facts. He has attempted to present the record within a framework that balances the periods, and relates local events to world history when they are part of some great current. Economic factors do not obtrude but they are fairly adjusted to the political and other incidents to which they are intimately related. The details of wealth, crops and industry will astonish those who have never permitted themselves to think of Palestine in normal terms.

To make the volume useful, and incidents intelligible, the names of all Palestinean places, except where the text prevented, have been given in their modern version. The general

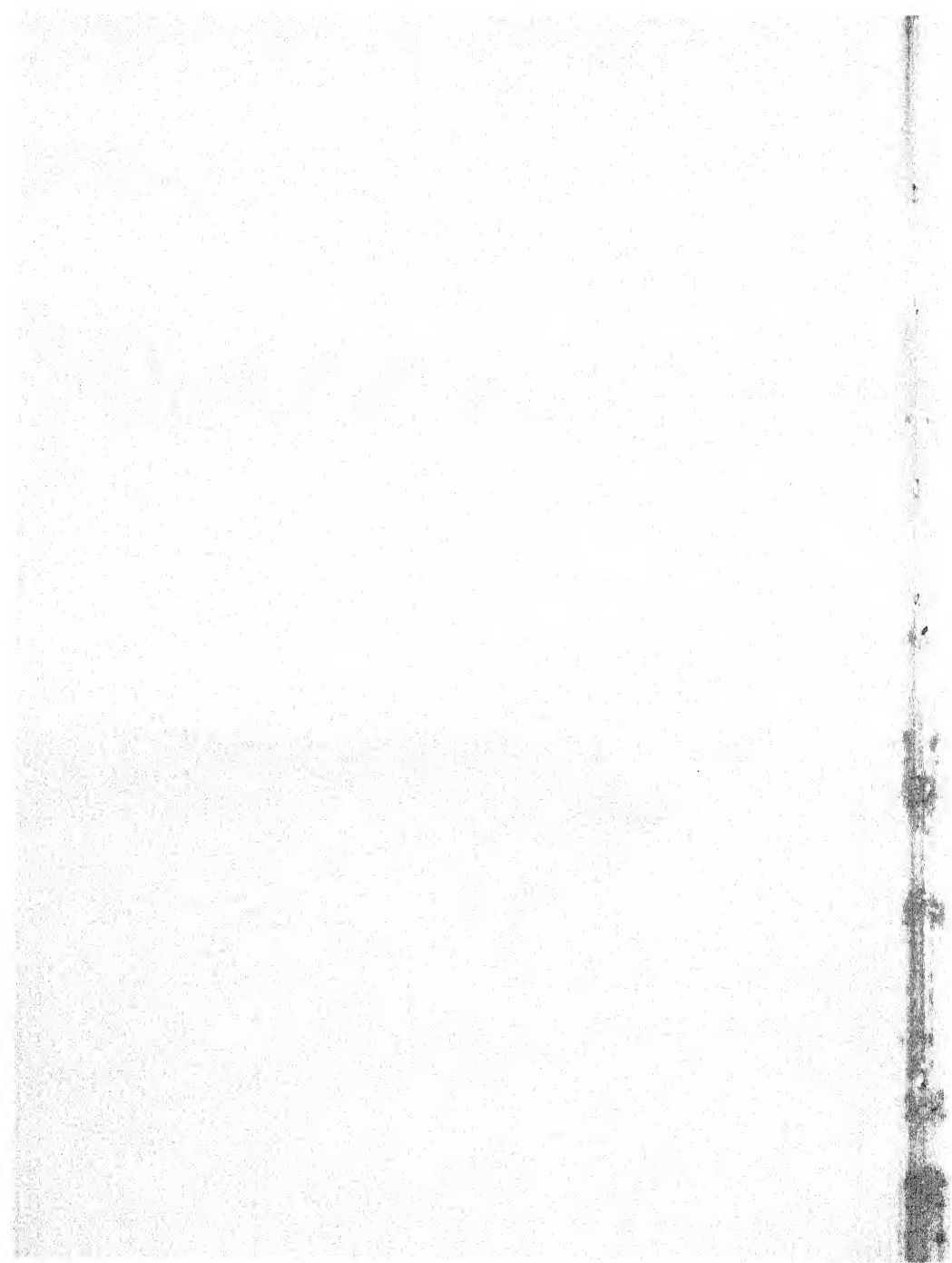
reader would not be served by naming the same place at different periods, as Ludd, Lod, Diosopolis and Lydda. An attempt has been made to employ a uniform method of transliterating Hebrew, Arabic, and other Oriental place and personal names, without disfiguring the page with a variety of accents, and without presenting well-known names in strange disguises. The original notes compiled throughout so many years display the bewildering phonetics of scores of scholars in a dozen tongues. Colonel Lawrence, a distinguished Arabist, gave up the job of uniform Anglicized orthography in disgust. If this book sins, it does so in excellent company. Some day an international conference will simplify life by an agreed spelling of all place-names everywhere. The impartial student will accept the results with gratitude.

To my wife, Lillian E. de Haas, who has read the proof and supervised the preparation of the index, I am much beholden.

JACOB DE HAAS.

March, 1934.

In the references appended to the chapters the full title of any book is given the first time mentioned. P. P. T. S. abbreviates Palestine Pilgrims Text Society; P. E. F. Q. S., Palestine Exploration Fund, Quarterly Statement; Z. D. P. V., Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästina Vereins.



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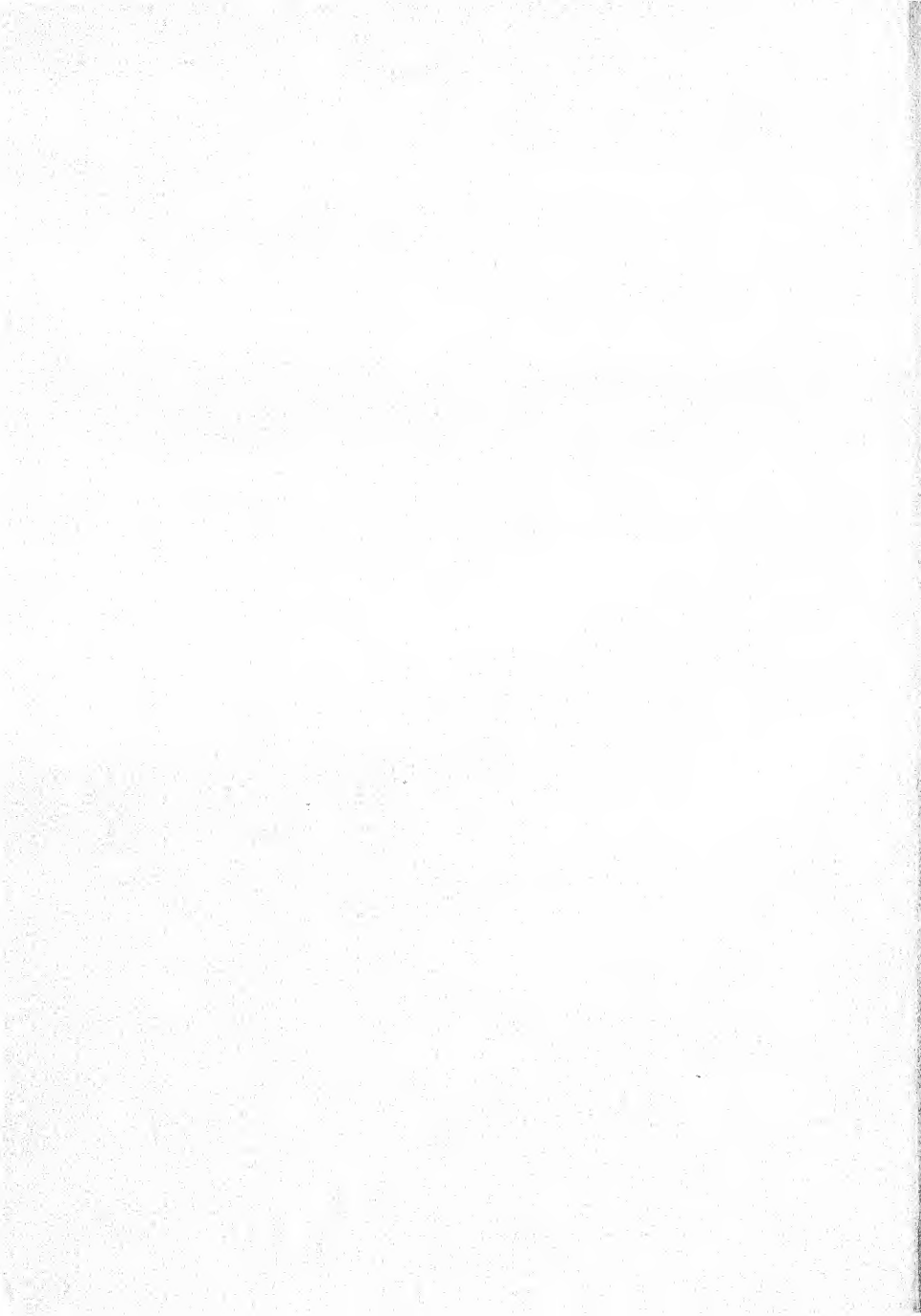
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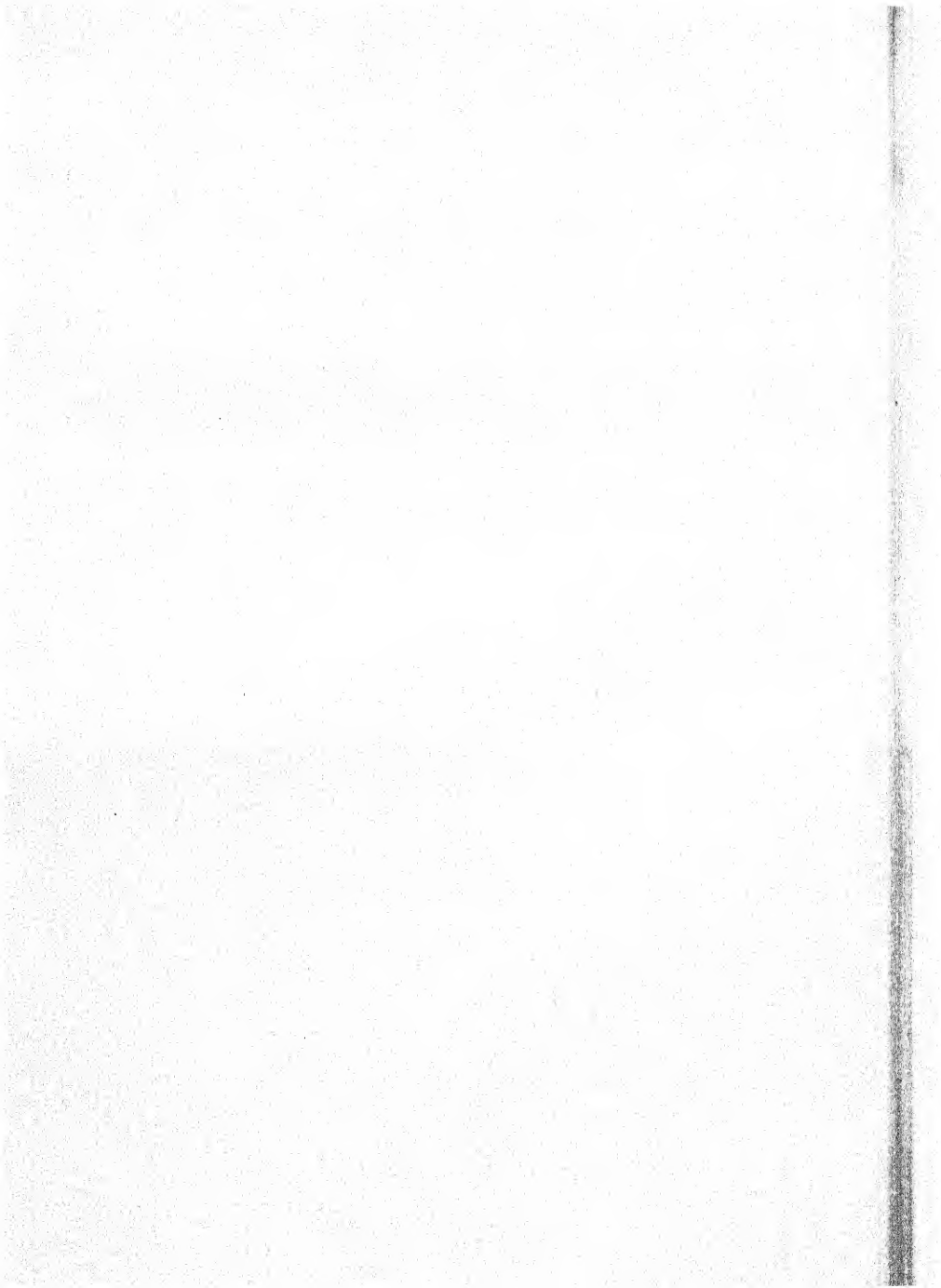
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HISTORY OF PALESTINE



INTRODUCTION

PLINY boldly asserts that even before the deluge Jaffa was a town. The Sidonians related that the Phœnicians, driven from their primitive homes by earthquakes, settled by the Dead Sea; and only after that body of water was sundered from the Gulf of Aqaba by the upheaval of the Arabah did they venture to the Mediterranean coast and build Sidon.¹ More positive it is that Jerusalem was old and settled when the Amarna tablets were incised. With Damascus it shares the unique distinction of continuous recorded habitation during the long stretch of six thousand years. So ancient and enduring a story, whether scratched on clay, chiselled on monuments, penned on papyrus or parchment, or printed in books, and finally, and faultily, passed from lip to lip, of necessity so interweaves fact and fancy that the glamorous thread easily obscures the duller reality.

At least one scientist seeks the cradle of civilization where Palestine and Sinai meet. Recorded time may have begun at Memphis, Hur, or Babylon, but Assyria disappeared under its own sands, and is to-day, mostly, a discovery of things not previously known. Ancient and modern Egypt are worlds so widely unrelated that more than one Mamluk sultan was disposed to wreck the pyramids because their frowning presence suggested the ephemeral nature and intrusive character of his royal presence. With its always uncertain boundaries, climbing sometimes north to mysterious Palmyra, stretching in other ages to the edge of the Red Desert, compressed at periods to a coastline one hundred miles long, and a hinterland only thirty miles wide, Palestine, with its age-old service as a world highway, with its varied and intractable population, has maintained a perpetuity beside which all empires have been fugitive and transitory.

Ever changing, it has been, and remains, the land of unfor-

getting. There is no spot in all this land, no single place where the foot may tread, that has not its fragment of myth or its splinter of history. Here the memory of man has ever been active and inventive. The archeologist laboriously resurrects confirmation and explanation. The dust yields him little, entirely unknown of the recorded past.

Poetic fancy knows that some of the taproots of human experience spread from this small angle of the world's surface. In the grotto where the Jordan takes its rise, Pan first played his pipes. In the spring, when the freshets pour their red-tinged waters into the Dog River, there flows down that stream the blood of Adonis, slain on its verdant banks. The deep red anemones, blossoming in profuse and glorious clusters by the Ladder of Tyre, are the heart drops of that same ravishing youth. Tyre, mother city of ships, sailors, and commerce, first of mercantile ports, and parent of harbors from Carthage to Cadiz, was founded on two floating rocks which supported an olive on which an eagle perched. Melcarth, oldest and most persistent of local deities, advised his votaries how to harness the buoyant stones, and so build on them a sea-embracing city.

To the south, at the brook once called Belus, where Hercules was cured of a wound, man, so runs the legend, by accident stumbled on the invention of glass. Semiramis, half goddess, half queen, was born at Ascalon. In a later age, Saint George, who slew the dragon at Beirut, died at Lydda. Still further south, at Jaffa, the Roman geographers saw the fearful chains by which Andromeda was fastened to the rocks till Perseus on winged Pegasus released her, and Minerva gave her a place among the constellations.

Local polytheistic cults superimpose themselves on these immigrant mythologies. Crushing both is the rich store, not only of biblical incident but of biblical imagery, that provides meaning and interest to everything, from the sand of the Tih Desert to the cedars of Lebanon. Small wonder that the rabbis, in fond appraisal of their fatherland, interpreting a line of the Psalms, declared that Jerusalem was the center of the earth. It seems fitting, therefore, that in the Middle Ages, when fable

gave birth to fable, the Christian literalist should have erected a column or sundial at the exact center of the habitable globe. Ecstatic Muslim vied with pious Christian in finding in Palestine a solid home for every child born of vagrant imagination, and located in Jerusalem, a few hundred yards distant from that center marking column, the physical springboard to more remote Paradise.

All these shadows not only play their part in the prehistoric and ancient story of Palestine, but some of them have been, and a few still are, forcing causes of the record of these last two thousand years.

Palestine, the land of actuality, has been mostly in eclipse; its penumbra, with all its mysterious lights, the "Holy Land," has been more often perceptible to the senses. Thrice was Jerusalem sanctified: by the Jews after they vanquished Antiochus Epiphanes; by the Christians through the Invention of the Cross by Saint Helena; and by Abd-el-Melek when he built the Dome of the Rock and forever established el-Kuds in the mind of the Islamic world. The inheritance of Jerusalem, the glory which was Zion, the affection for the lonely grave of Rachel, the sanctity showered on Bethlehem, the awe inspired by the Cave at Hebron, the mystery attached to Nazareth and to Elijah's cave on Carmel, and the added holiness conceded to Safed and Tiberias dowered the whole land with a sacred character. For ages it was, and to some still remains, less Palestine than the "Holy Land." Its conquest was motivated by a past so envisaged. Pilgrims prayed to behold, historians to retrieve it.

The imperishable in Palestine is that it was "a state of mind." Three world religions sprang from ideas and hopes nurtured on its hills and in its valleys; a fourth more obscure and local religion, that of the Druzes, has persisted for a thousand years. Within its borders at least three attempts have been made to found universal religions. Mystics have come here to dream, to seek inspiration and the realization of visions. To the complex of creeds may be added that, not unnaturally, many of the doctrinaire differences which divide Christianity had their origin in this motherland of western faiths.

Therefore not only Time's sanction has granted holiness to Palestine but faith has conferred on it the mantle of the sacrosanct. From Gaza, which long ago, despite its wild history, declared itself "holy and inviolate," to Damascus; from the Carmel eastward to Amman, the land is black with sites—Jewish, Christian, and Muslim. In a literal sense the country, in which divinely ordained personages lived, whose acts, however simple, are open to esoteric and metaphysical interpretations, has borne the burden of its sanctity. It has therefore never been judged as other lands. That the "air of Palestine maketh a man wise," was perhaps intended in an especial sense, but the concept has had as companion the belief that "the land redeemeth from sin." Such "merits" have not only exercised an influence upon its history, but all its normal life, as impious as that of any land, has rendered it subject to judgments and reproaches not charged against any other earthly domain.

The burden of this holiness, however, still rests on the land. East and West, North and South are to this day peopled by the ghosts of time and fancy, and by that zeal which strives to verify the incredible by locating the progress of vision or dream. Over rock and ridge, through town and street, over hill and dale, run the measured miles of imaginary journeys and incidents, crowding out contemporary life. The will to believe, the wish to visualize, has congested the physical landscape and obscured the most striking fact in history—the enduring character of the human story in a country so often catastrophically stricken.

II

However gently, some of the integuments of myth and fable and legend must be removed to set out the factual history of Palestine during these two thousand years. Fortunately for this purpose these old concepts require no critical examination. Historic or wholly imaginary, the history of the country is not affected by the veracity of claims of miraculous happenings. The verisimilitude given such incidents by adherents, and the faith men showered upon the land, because of their belief in

such events, have been potent factors in the story of Palestine. The land therefore stands apart from other countries, in that from the fourth to the thirteenth centuries legends beckoned men to conquest and made its ownership desirable beyond its material worth, its revenues, and its natural resources. "The stuff that dreams are made of" enters into Palestinian history. Here not only was the present wholly conditioned by the past, but to maintain this attitude of mind Palestine became a melange of time and space. The permeating influence of the "dead past" upon the "living present" is part of that pressure which the "Holy Land" casts upon Palestine in almost every phase of its history.

Joshua made the sun stand still for a few hours. Millions have sought a more extended miracle on the same hilltop. For the pious here time should forever stand still, and life should forever abide in one pose; in the manners, customs, and habiliments of that peculiar antiquity which is portrayed in conventional Bible illustrations. This sentiment, a nineteenth-century concept, runs through thousands of volumes rich with indexes to Biblical references. Its propagation has brought tens of thousands of visitors who, carefully guided to "holy places," learn to their joy of wonderful "local traditions"; it is portrayed in thousands of pictures, carefully scissored, so as to blot out the present or the immediate past.

A single phrase, cunningly devised, "the unchanging East," has conferred immutability on Palestine. That in an ever-changing world, by some inscrutable means, there should have been preserved one nook that resisted the wear and tear of progress and change, affords great satisfaction. The thing should be. Religionist, artist, author, photographer, all swell with pride at the discovery that the Palestinian present is merely an extension of the long-gone past. Statesmen, whose business is with current realities, think of the Bible and Palestine as interchangeable terms. Town builders, moving the Palestinian calendar forward to the Crusades, would, if they were free to do so, deny the country its natural and semi-oriental life and squeeze it within the Norman matrix and the guild system of the feudal ages.

Whatever may be true elsewhere in the East, the "unchanging East" has no relationship to Palestine. To the contrary, it is a land that has always been "as clay in the potter's hand." Its vicissitudes since the fall of Jerusalem in 70 C.E. have been many, and each has made its own impress on the country. The names of men, place-names, and traditions have clung to it like limpets. No little of this mysterious persistence of ancient memories, and the continuity of custom have been artificially reintroduced to meet the exigencies of the pilgrim trade and to satisfy the yearnings of the pious. Verbal traditions are as easily fabricated as relics are manufactured. The geographic errors of monks and the speculative suggestions of travellers have been vaguely passed on as authoritative.² The women of Nazareth have shrewdly and not unwittingly accommodated themselves to a legend, by dyeing their hair red. Fellahs in many villages rejoice in preserving the difference between Keis and Yemen, and thus proudly bestow upon themselves a borrowed genealogy that goes back to the associates of the "Companions of the Prophet."

The history of the country, as a whole, and of particular places, has been one of alternating violent or gradual change. Mutation, in all things, has been the keynote of Palestinean history these two thousand years. It could not well be otherwise, for no other land has been so forced to obey the whim of conqueror; or has been the meeting place of so many diverse races and peoples.

III

During the long period under review even the topography of the country has yielded to the law of change. Though the rocks of Jaffa stand in relation to the town much as they always stood, as the dunes at Rishon le-Zion show, the encroachment of sand has affected the coastline. Wilful destruction of ports and harbors, once the pride of the country, and artificial and natural inundations, have more seriously contributed to the changes that have taken place. Although Palestine is within the earthquake zone and has suffered a great many tremors,

such phenomena have not materially affected any of the important contours of the country.

No volcanic upheaval has taken place there during the last two thousand years, nor any catastrophic landslides. In Syria the quakes have been more serious and their effects more permanent. The northern coastal towns of Palestine have suffered most, but though the earthquakes have occurred in frequent succession, in general some attempt was made in the larger cities at reconstruction after destruction. Safed and Tiberias having suffered severely in 1759 and 1837, both cities have been wholly made over since the latter date. Ramleh, entirely an Arab creation of the eighth century, crushed by an earthquake in 1033, is probably the one town in Palestine that, destroyed by natural causes, has never recovered its position. Scores of villages however were at different times blotted out, and have never been rebuilt.

A far more definite influence on the topography of Palestine has been the arbitrary and capricious policies of monarchs and the more serious effects of war. The Herodian and the Seleucidian Palestine differed greatly not only in the area they covered, but in the size and number of the towns, villages, and fortifications erected. Herod was the great developer, and his immediate successors completed a great construction program. Trans-Jordan, Galilee, Samaria, and Judea, benefited in marked measure from the Herodian craving for cities, forts, amphitheaters, baths, and temples. This Greek-Roman Palestine was very considerably despoiled by Vespasian and Titus, who, however, added their own Newtown (Nablus). Scores of massive ruined synagogues attest the development that existed in the second and third centuries in Galilee. Nearly all of it yielded to the fury of the Hadrian war, which, however, was followed by the erection of a small Roman Jerusalem and by a scattering of temples in Bethlehem, Sebaste, and Tiberias. By the end of the fourth century Palestine was essentially Byzantine. Of this period rich in development, in which the Parched Land of the south blossomed and prospered as never before or since, the written record affords almost no information. Ruins

in the Negeb attest the chain of great towns in which hundreds of thousands of people made their homes and, by careful husbandry, prospered. Considerably to the north are the massive ruins, comparable to the foundations of the Temple at Jerusalem,* of what owing to its complete disappearance from history had come to be regarded as the mythical city of Byzantine Palestine—Eleutheropolis. First mentioned by Ptolemy, the center of the Roman road system in the Peutinger tables, of importance in ecclesiastical history and called by the crusader prelates Gibelin,⁴ it was so well lost that its recovery, as a site, at Betogabra, was much doubted. Of its record for a thousand years, it is known that its walls were repaired in 1551, that it was wholly dismantled, and that its scant population was banished in 1796.⁵

Within two centuries a still greater change in appearance had been effected. The deserts were dotted with monasteries and luras. From Olivet to the Dead Sea the skyline offered a vista of church towers and convent roofs, while in the foreground was the massive turreted city of Jerusalem, crowded with Christian fanes, and one of the great marts of world trade. After the Arab conquest Jerusalem retained its commercial importance, but its appearance changed; Lydda disappeared; Ramleh rose out of the sands; most of the coastal towns lost their importance; while Gaza, El Arish, and Aqaba, a port of Solomon's creation on an arm of the Red Sea, gained in importance and in affluence. But within that same period in which mosques replaced churches, the Bedouins, who had ravished the country from the fourth century, destroyed the prosperity of Trans-Jordan and made it a desolation and a waste.

By their own destruction of the coast towns before the Frank advance, the Arabs presented the Crusaders with a *tabula rasa* of which the Latins took full advantage. Thereon the rulers of the Latin Kingdom erected their Norman world of shrines, churches, cathedrals, massive fortresses with donjons and towers, and walled cities. The coast became a series of abutting fortifications, the hilltops of Galilee were crowned with abbeys and forts, and a line of castles guarded the great route from Montreal, through Kerak, to Mount Sinai. Some of this Sala-

din destroyed in his long campaign, and of all this mighty development only Kerak was left after 1291. From that date to the middle of the nineteenth century only a few major improvements of a permanent character are noted; the rebuilding of the walls of Jerusalem by Suleiman, the Magnificent, between 1527 and 1542; and the building of the mosque and aqueduct by Djazzar Pasha, at the end of the eighteenth century, making Acre once more habitable, and therefore of some importance.

The constant use of old material, the gray appearance of much of the limestone used in Palestine, and the dusty color of the typical Arab village, together with some preconceptions, suggest for most places an antiquity which is not of record. Much of present-day Palestine is less than three centuries old. With a few notable exceptions most of the towns, as they stand to-day, are the handiwork of the middle of the nineteenth century, or later. Historic names have moved little, but no place has had the same appearance for two successive centuries. Broadly, from the fourteenth century most towns fell into decay and ruin. Nazareth has no secular history prior to the fourth century, and from that date to the middle of the nineteenth century its physical mutations, its wrecking and rebuilding, would easily fill a page with mere chronological data. Jaffa was literally a void for two and a half centuries; Haifa was a petty village and mostly covered by Arab tents in the eighteenth century. Then Hebron was a village of "wretched ruins" and the "remains of an ancient castle,"⁶ and Jerusalem had "all its buildings embarrassed with ruins."⁷ Beersheba is the re-creation of the last two decades.⁸

The buried cities of the Hauran; the ruins that stretch east of the Dead Sea from Es Salt to Aqaba, and from that turning point, across the Tih, or Desert of the Wanderings; the numerous ruins of massive cities in the southland, or Negeb, together with the remains of what were cities and towns and villages in Judea, Samaria, and Lower and Upper Galilee, make a list of names of past centers of life at least as long as the place-names enumerated in the last official census of Palestine.

The changes in the rural topography have been no less impressive. The exposure of rock and stone, and therefore of

mountain outline seen to-day, may be the effect of soil erosion following the destruction of Palestinean forest lands. Every conquest has cost the life of Palestinean trees, until in the nineteenth century the country had practically become a treeless wilderness.

Titus cleared the hills of Jerusalem for battering rams, and even Josephus bemoans the havoc wrought. Julius Severus cut down the great olive plantations in the vale of Jezreel. For military purposes the Crusaders destroyed the oak woods that stretched from the coast to the vicinity of Nablus. In the thirteenth century the Kharezmians burnt the country over. The Turks uprooted the oaks that covered Tabor as late as the eighteenth century, when the Mamluks destroyed the olive groves of Jaffa. Napoleon fired the villages of the Sharon, from Jaffa to the Kishon in 1798-99. The British repeated this form of destruction, incidentally destroying mulberry plantations in their pursuit of Ibrahim Pasha in 1840. Denudation went forward steadily. During the World War the orange groves of Kefr Saba and the olive groves of Galilee were destroyed. The fruit-bearing trees were replaced at intervals; the timber was never replanted. Re-afforestation is a modern and western admission of the rights of posterity. The foregoing description of the coastal and central areas could, with some change of dates, be repeated of the environs of Beisan, Hebron, and Jericho.

Variation in the staple crops added to the unlikeness of the rural scene at different periods. To the fifth century the bare hills of Moab, visible from Jerusalem, were covered with waving corn and closely settled vineyards. The olive has been the most permanent of Palestine's deciduous trees. The fig, date, almond, walnut, sycamore, citron, locust, and pomegranate, though always grown to some extent, have had a more interrupted history.

The grape has an ancient record in Palestine. From the third to the fifth century the vine covered the southland and part of Judea. The Arabs uprooted the vineyards, and the Crusaders replanted them. From the fourteenth to the seventeenth century the cultivation of the vine was limited to the environs of Christian settlements. The manufacture and sale of wine was

forbidden in Muslim towns. This prohibition resulted in the building of secret winepresses and the furtive sale of wine by amiable monks to thirsty pilgrims. Every pilgrim, setting out for Gaza and Sinai, "bootlegged" his supply obtained in Jerusalem.

Olive culture was important in all parts of the country till the tenth century. By that date the orange, banana, and sugar cane, had been introduced and made indigenous. The ruins of massive sugar mills still shadow the landscape in the valley of the Jordan and in the district of Kerak. The plain of Ramleh was covered with wheat and maize. Beisan was all rice fields; but the southland was bare of verdure. A great variety of fruits and vegetables were raised in the Sharon and in the environs of Jerusalem. Sidon and Tyre were luxuriant with sugar cane, and the valley of Jezreel, as the name of its southern village, Afuleh (Beantown) indicates, was given over to vegetable gardens.

The next vital change took place in the sixteenth century, when the mulberry, which had been freely cultivated in the Byzantine era as an aid to silk culture, was planted first in Tiberias and then along the Sharon Plain to Gaza. By that date Esdraelon and the Plain of Ramleh were covered with cotton fields, and this crop with indigo and sesame remained the staple till 1840. From that date Palestine, except for scant crops of durrah and barley, raised at Gaza for the English market, was mostly fallow.

In the last quarter of the nineteenth century a new series of legumes, however slowly, changed the appearance of Palestine. Olive yards and vineyards increased in number, and orange, lemon, almond, and citron groves multiplied. In this century bananas have been reintroduced, and grapefruit added to the citrus plants. The fertility of its soil was never questioned by competent observers, but its sparse cultivation for centuries invited an endless variety of suggestions, provided security could be assured its population.

The centers of population show a corresponding high mobility for so small an area as Palestine. Whether in response to the change in crops or industry, or the result of determined

efforts at colonization, it remains true that in different eras the areas under settlement varied considerably. In the Herodian period, when the land teemed with millions east and west of the Jordan, with a concentration around Jerusalem, the south, except Gaza, was wholly unsettled. During the second and third centuries, when Jerusalem lost all importance, Samaria, Galilee, and Trans-Jordan continued to house the bulk of the population. Tyre and Sidon were manufacturing dyes, exporting dyed stuffs, blowing glass, and growing rich from the profits of transportation, while Gaza became the center of a considerable silk-spinning and winding industry. After Jerusalem became a great pilgrimage and commercial center, it too began to manufacture a variety of articles, and introduced the manufacture of soap, which has always been the chief support of Nablus.

Although Palestine to the thirteenth century was chiefly an agricultural country and raised considerable cattle, sheep, and goats, during its affluent days it was both industrialized and given over to trade. In Roman days, Palestine boasted the first manufacturing town; it exported cloth long before any western Mediterranean city had local products available for foreign markets.

Its tenth century list of exports of local origin is varied. Still later its wine and pottery enjoyed a high reputation in Europe. These varying enterprises may have facilitated the change in the areas of settlement.

During the Latin Kingdom the south, except Gaza and Aqaba, was abandoned and the population concentrated in the port towns and in the central range. The Sahil, the province of Acre including Safed, was the center of habitation. Acre, at its height just before its destruction in 1291, crowded two hundred thousand people within its walls. The Kharezmian incursion in 1244 forced a dispersion of the population. The nomad became a more prominent feature of the landscape, and the slopes of Carmel were densely settled. But with the complete ruin of the coastal towns, the fear of the Tartars, and the wars of the emirs, the people confined themselves again to the hill towns. Thus Safed, Tiberias, Nablus, Beisan, and Jeru-

salem regained importance. During the cotton era Ramleh became the center for the factors and the market for traders and pilgrims, but it did not grow in permanent population. Gaza became the economic "butter dish," and had several hundred looms. Jaffa, which was restored in the eighteenth century, was eclipsed by the Napoleonic war and was supplanted by Gaza as a trade center, so that during the first quarter of the nineteenth century that southern town had the largest urban population of any city in Palestine. Tyre and Sidon, and Acre in lesser degree became important in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries until supplanted by Beirut.

Jerusalem began to gain after 1840, and has risen steadily until to-day it is again the most densely populated area of Palestine. With Trans-Jordan and the south still sparsely populated the twentieth-century development has favored the great central valley and the plain between Jaffa and Haifa.

IV

A perspective two thousand years long applied to any country would exhibit endless change. The record of Palestine is unique in that the country marched in the van of the world for many centuries. If anything, western influence retarded its natural progress; and from the time the West assumed the leadership of civilization, Palestine and all the Near East fell steadily backward. The Palestine of Herod was on the crest of the wave, perhaps not so elegant and luxury-indulging as Rome, but basically richer and less complex in its thinking. The Palestine of Justinian had all the vices as well as the costly pomp of Byzantium. From 'Omar's day, when Palestine began to respond to oriental influences, Jerusalem was well ahead of Mecca, and shared in the cultured progress which began with the Ommayyads, and kept the East well ahead of Europe to the period of the Crusades. Of Palestine of the Latin Kingdom we may repeat another's thought: there is "a debt due by the Frank that has still to be paid by the West." * The appetite for progress was not even dead at the end of the sixteenth century, for the Hebrew printing press, set up at Safed, belongs to the early history of typography.

The process of retardation, however, began in the middle of the thirteenth century and reached its culmination point five hundred years later. The Palestine of 1850 to forty years later, when its rural desolation struck all beholders, did not, as some have fondly imagined, reflect the conditions that prevailed after Titus' victory. If comparison is possible, this waste and silent land, with its nude ruins, resembled the Palestine that existed between the First Exile and the Return under Ezra and Nehemiah. This movement against the clock of progress and all the changes that preceded it is traceable to one common source. Except for two brief and obscure periods, Palestine since the fall of the Jewish State has been a subjugated land.

A few coins of Bar Kokba tell all we know of his independent rule. Of the independence which was briefly established during the confusion of the eleventh century we know little more. Palestine's inhabitants have been not merely a subject people, for that was the fate of the mass of mankind during the existence of all the great empires, but its people have not known even local independence. They were stirred to no local patriotism, and there was cultivated among them no Palestinian nationalism. Till the present British administration issued its passports and adopted its nationality law, there were no Palestinians. Even if they were born and died there, even if their families were settled within the same area for ten generations, the people acquired no rights of inheritance in the country. Insecurity and alien obligations were the heritage the generations bequeathed to posterity.

When after the thirteenth century misrule became intensified, and the land became as much the sport of its masters as of merciless invaders, and plague and epidemic followed in sad rotation, country and people reverted more and more to the desert which it fringed. As the commercial interests of the world changed, the Palestinian cities shrank. Pilgrimages, which found some moral if not physical satisfaction in want and misery, were the staple source of their income. If there was no urge to rebuild the cities the lack of interest in the re-forestation of what had been rich woodland was natural. The state owned the soil; the tax farmer squeezed from the peasant

all that he could forcibly extract. The fellah became a semi-nomad. He neglected the soil, having no interest in it beyond what he could safely gather during the immediate harvest. "Everywhere the preference is given to property in money, as more easy to hide from the Despot."¹⁰ To this was due the development of the Wakf as a means of securing perpetual usufruct to the proprietor of the land; but as even this system had its abuses Volney noted the absence of "that multitude of small proprietors who constitute the strength and riches of the tributary countries."¹¹

The West made its own contribution to this era of denudation. Its political system of "capitulations" increased the subservience of natives and intensified the alienage of immigrants. To this was added a policy of sheer destruction by the western powers when in the first quarter of the nineteenth century, under the tutelage of Mehemet Ali, the Near East began to revive and prove itself capable of successful rivalry with the West in both crops and manufactures.

V

Palestine has always been the victim of its political experiences. Everything there has yielded to the mood and necessity of its distant and somewhat indifferent owner. Even the distinction of being the capital of the country has been confined to no one city. The Jews governed from Jerusalem, and the Romans and Byzantines from Cæsarea. The Arabs abandoned both. They experimented briefly at Emmaus, governed a little longer from Lydda, and bodily removed what was mobile of that town to Ramleh, which remained the capital throughout the Abbaside and Fatimid dynasties, though during an interregnum one ruler governed from Tiberias. The Latin Kingdom restored the prestige of Jerusalem, but when the Saracens ruled from Ramleh the Franks administered from Acre. In the reigns of the Mamluks, Safed and Gaza were the centers of government. The Turks continued this policy; it was only in the eighteenth century that they consented to Jerusalem becoming a sub-governorate directly under the authority of Damascus, and about 1870 Constantinople took direct control of its

affairs. The political recovery of Jerusalem, though presaged by its development since the beginning of the nineteenth century, is a post-war achievement.

Palestine has in turn been linked with Syria and with Egypt. Its homogeneity was destroyed by the Roman policy of "city state," and it was governed, for Rome or Constantinople, from Damascus, though that city was regarded as beyond its boundaries. These policies, though they were economically beneficial, intensified the alienage of the population. It was colonized by Roman soldiers and Greek immigrants who did not integrate politically with the native population. In the great church era the allegiance of the population was to the church and to the rulers who obeyed it.

The Ommayyads, who were Syrians and ruled from Damascus, were perhaps the only caliphs who felt a keen personal interest in the country and were dependent on it for political support. The Abbasides ruled from distant Baghdad, and the Mamluks from Cairo. The whole political terminology of dependence has applied to Palestine at different dates. None of the forms welded the inhabitants to any desire for local self-improvement. Ideas and ideals that had nothing in common with its local contemporaneous life or needs built its institutions. Always a strange heel pressed its rights, interests, and theories on Palestine.

At short intervals, for all of sixteen centuries, Palestine felt the steady tread of serried ranks of soldiers and the stamping hoofs of undisciplined cavalry; all marching and counter-marching in obedience to sanguinary imperial interests. Within this period and even afterwards it suffered from foray and incursion; from ruthless civil war, and from the brutalities of tribal strife. In its endless changing experiences it has borne the wasteful pressure of the armies of all nations from the North Sea to the Great Wall of China, from the Baltic to Abyssinia. All peoples have mingled in its population. In a peaceful interlude, in the seventeenth century, one visitor claimed that seventy-seven languages were in use in Jerusalem.

A bewildering medley of monarchs have in turn ruled it, and half the defunct dynasties of Europe proclaimed the title "King

of Jerusalem," as part of their heritage. Province of the Roman empire from Cæsar to Heraclius, this consecutive procession of Romans, Greeks, Spaniards, and Syrians, together with Zenobia, the half-Jewess, and Philip, Palestinian born, ruled in turn, or left it the prey of Syrian legate. A mad Persian was followed by sober Arabs, Muslim Syrians, and the Abbaside sons of slave mothers of every nationality.

While Abbaside and Fatimid contended for its possession, Turcomans and even a full-blooded Abyssinian Negro and a Persian were its kings. The Moorish-blooded Fatimids gained the upper hand in the inter-Islamic struggle, only to give way to so alien a rule as that of the Norman French. Barely had their blood mingled with the royalty of Armenia, and so placed a king of combined eastern and western origin on its uneasy throne, than from Kurdistan came conquering and chivalrous Saladin. For a day or more the half Sicilian German emperor, Frederick, was its crowned king. For six months the "Tree of Pearls," ex-slave of a ruined caliph, ruled as queen in her own right. Then Mamluks, of Tartar origin and proud of their slave state, were its overlords and suzerains. For some few months its legal and extortionate master was a prince of the great Tartar horde.

Perhaps the least impressive change in the racial dominance Palestine has experienced was from Circassian Mamluk to Othman Turk. But the Turk, who always destroyed and rarely built, involved in conquest in Europe and ruled by vizirs, lost his grip on the East, and a succession of local rulers were the real masters of the country in the eighteenth century. A capable and constructive Druze emir was followed by an empire seeking Bedouin chief of Safed. After him came an Albanian, perhaps the most bloodthirsty, cruel, and vindictive of all the men who at one time or another have possessed themselves of the country. In this motley procession of emperors, queens, kings, sultans, and caliphs, at intervals of centuries, a Jew was twice governor of Palestine, prior to the World War.

Priest ruled and church dominated, Palestine has witnessed the demoralization of great armies by the twinkling toes and heaving torsos of dancing girls. No note in the gamut of hu-

man emotions has been strange to her, for here, in the slow procession of the ages, men and women of all nations and races have met and played out some phase of their lives.

Behind the bizarre procession of kings and queens, arbitrary governors, ambitious prelates, monks, nuns, and self-deluded mystics, changing towns, and mobile population, two constant influences have been at work: High taxes for other people's wars and the drafting of the population for foreign wars by all the varying methods of conscription practised in different ages. Palestine was the victim of tyrants when all rulers were absolute, the sport of lecherous monarchs when West vied with East in licentiousness. The world's unending buffer state, never in these last two thousand years free to assert its own spirit, or let that spirit grow, Palestine has been the West's most eastern outpost, and the East's most western frontier.

Banished from the world's serious thought by the discovery of America, Palestine was a political rediscovery of the nineteenth century, only to be cast aside again as a superfluous pawn. Out of the ruck of the World War came its re-establishment as a land of the living present. Its barely discernible camel tracks have given way to great roads, and its butter lamps have been replaced by electricity. Within a decade it has been made over, spanning the gulf that divides the desert and the habitable world, and leaping from the civilization of the sixteenth to the nineteenth century.

Change, endless change. A land that declines to be buried in the graves of its many pasts. A handful of Jews in the Galilean village of Pekiin; a score of Samaritan families on Shechem; these are its human antiquity—the physical inheritors of all its ages. But antiquity is not the badge of Palestine. It is a country that, but for one period, has always quickened to human experience and responded to human effort. Its history is therefore a colorful abstract of universal strivings, spiritual and mundane. A narrow strip of the earth's surface, its story is that of the world *en petit*, for the life of the world has often been focussed at this spot, which has acutely felt the waves of passion or emotion that stir men to action.

Best advertised of lands, yet, because of its disjunctive

record, least known, it merits this account of its varied and full-length story from the days when a Jew defended Jerusalem from its battlements against Roman invaders to that day nearly nineteen centuries later, when Palestine as mandated territory became a ward of the League of Nations, with Great Britain presiding over its destinies.

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CHAPTER I

THE ROMAN ERA TO 70 C.E.

THE urge of the West to possess the East, to win it, to revel in its "immemorial possession of the arts and luxury," to indulge in its plenitude of food, has been a constant factor in world policies for more than twenty-five centuries. For an Egyptian monarch, mummified at the hither side of civilization, the alluring story of fertile cornfields; of common soldiers fed daily in Palestine on festival bread and wine, honey and nuts, was written in the Amarna tablets, thirty-five hundred years ago.¹ Beyond the intervening Sinai desert, at the very frontier, were glorious fruit gardens, rushing streams, charming maidens, an abundance of things desirable.² Further east was a world still richer in gold and ivory, jewels and silk, oils and copper, dyed stuffs and rare woods. So ran the inventory of ancient Egypt's imports from the broad stretch of Syria.

Alexander of Macedonia seeking to hold the vision in his hands spread the reputation of the lands of fabled riches. The Romans imitating his zeal for conquest, quickly migrated to the sun-kissed lands. Its merchants irrecoverably exchanged each year four million dollars of the state wealth for the oil and wine of Palestine, for the purple and gold that came through Tyre, for the fruits and silks of Persia, and for all things lavished on women.³ The Senate, gravely protesting against this seepage of gold, spurred the Cæsars to capture the Orient for the empire.

Centuries later, Charlemagne looked to the East for an elephant, beast of magic and fable, and for all those refinements—spices, brocades, and carvings—which his rude court lacked. In part, this same spell sent the Crusaders pell-mell to the East. Even before their coming the Arabs gazed in wonderment at a

land so rich in food and fruit, and later boasted of the "white bread" of Ramleh and other Palestinean cities.⁴

Columbus, seeking the near road to the source of all this oriental wealth and beauty, contracted for the ownership of all the gold he would find. And in discovering America he diverted men's minds for three centuries from the ancient Golconda.

Napoleon, swayed by his urge to be another Cæsar, studying Alexander, went in quest of an eastern empire and brought that old world within the periphery of modern thought. The Napoleonic legend abiding with the French, some phase of it has been realized in the mandate that brings Damascus, "half as old as time," within its influence.

The Germans, whose ancestors first went east as Roman con-scripts, sighing too for worlds to conquer, evolved in our own times their version of the aptly named *Drang nach Osten*. The British successfully espoused the great oriental passion by the possession of India. But with one foot in Egypt they lacked, to the World War, a safe foothold for the other foot on that "land bridge" between the Mediterranean and the Euphrates. All military strategists have regarded this as essential to the security of Eastern territory. From the eastward march of the Macedonian to Maude's arrival in Baghdad, and Allenby's pilgrim-like entrance into Jerusalem, the curves of history make a circle twenty-five centuries in diameter.

II

Palestine was more than the "land bridge" to that alluring Orient which the Romans ardently desired to possess and hold. It was a wealthy country, which by paying taxes and tribute to the extent of 12,000,000 denarii a year, enabled the masters of the Roman world, and their loquacious but obedient Senate to indulge in the popular policy of imperialism at the expense of the subjugated "provinces." Poll tax, land tax, customs—farmed out to "publicans"—house, auction and salt taxes, road and bridge tolls, the Romans made possession pay for its conquest.⁵

Eloquent tribute to Palestine's wealth, and the beauty of its temple are preserved in the fragment of Polybius⁶ that sur-

vives. Hecatæus, the Abderite, wrote of the fruitfulness of the land, and of its temple "with a golden altar and candlestick in it, two talents in weight." ⁷ Crassus proved this in 55 B.C.E., when he produced, as loot from Jerusalem, a golden beam worth ten thousand talents, two thousand talents of pure gold, and for good measure other treasures valued at eight thousand talents. Gabinius, first Roman governor of Palestine and Syria "had an itching palm," and plundered more than a hundred million denarii from the country.⁸

Pliny's account of Syria and Palestine is an eloquent appreciation of the rich Eastern territory: "Where the Sisbonian Lake becomes visible,* Idumea and Palestine begin." As he names Damascus as one of the cities of the Decapolis, he is justified in saying: "Judea extends far and wide." First of the cities, in order northward, he names Rhinocorura (el Arish) "city of the nose-slitted," agreeing with Strabo as to the origin of this strange name, that it was a penal settlement of men so mutilated. He refers to Crocodilon, Borum, Sycaminon, as places "of which the remembrance only exists," but mentions others now equally unknown and unidentified.

Concerning Tyre, Pliny is no less eloquent than Ezekiel. "So famous in ancient times for its offspring, the cities to which it gave birth, Leptis, Utica, and Carthage, that rival of the Roman sway, that thirsted for the conquest of the whole earth. Gades (Cadiz) too, which she founded beyond the limits of the world. All her fame is confined to the production of the murex and the purple. . . . Sidon famous for its manufacture of glass, and the parent of Thebes in Bœotia. . . . Hierosolyma, by far the most famous city, not of Judea alone, but of the East." ⁹

Ascalon he praises not only as a free republic but as famous for its literary taste.¹⁰ He credits Palestine with the discovery of astronomy, navigation, and the art of war; the invention of the alphabet, and the manufacture of glass. If he exaggerates, it is in tribute to the wealth and culture of Palestine. Strabo paints the same picture, though he was more interested in Sidon.

* Sabakat Barwodal, in the Sinai Desert, shown on 1897 maps as the southern border of Palestine.

The earlier geographer¹¹ quotes the *Iliad*¹² as to the embroidered robes (the work of Sidonian women), which god-like Alexander himself had brought from Sidon, and elaborates¹³ on the Sidonians excelling in art, astronomy, and arithmetic by the application of numbers (in accounts) and of night sailing, both of which were of importance to merchant and seaman. But he awards other qualities to Sidon and quotes Poseidonius to the effect that the "ancient opinion about atoms originated with Mochus, a native of Sidon who lived there before the Trojan war." To this he adds that Boëthus, the philosopher, was a native of Sidon; Antipater was of Tyre; Apollonius, who published a table of philosophy of the school of Zeno, was of the same city. Antiochus, the philosopher, he credits to Ascalon; Philodemus, the Epicurean, to Gadara: "also Meleager, Menippus the satirist, and Theodorus the rhetorician, my contemporary." Praising Ascalon for the excellence of its onions, he says, "the district was so populous that the neighboring village of Jamnia and the settlements around could furnish forty thousand soldiers."

In the sculptured relief on Titus' Arch the golden candlestick, the golden table, the temple appurtenances, and the symbol of the swift-flowing Jordan, are contemporary witnesses to what Palestine implied to the surging mob that glorified the parsimonious Vespasian, and that hailed the more liberal Titus in the great procession that celebrated their triumph over stricken Judea.

Because Baltic amber was precious for ornament, the Romans had pushed north, through forest and marsh, overcoming Teutonic savages to master that wealth at the source of supply. From the East came other precious commodities, and the Hauran was the great granary and the source of Alexandria's commercial prestige. Palestine was the center of the intricate series of trade routes that led to India. Gaza, Megiddo, Jerusalem, and Damascus, owing to the conformation of the country, guarded the long eastern passage. In Augustus' reign commerce so dominated imperial policies that Herod not only built the great harbor at Cæsarea but joined the emperor in financing the shortest overland route through Egypt to Arabia. Between the Sinaitic and Syrian deserts were the fat lands of

Palestine. "Corns of wheat large as kidneys, the barley corns as large as olives, and the lentils like golden denarii,"¹⁴ wrote a Jew, in the Roman era, in ecstatic admiration of his homeland.

III

Between imperial and powerful Rome and independent, successful Judea there was a gulf neither time nor experience could heal. Independence was lost when, in 63 B.C.E., Pompey interposed in the sacerdotal dispute and made Hyrcanus II. high priest. But the Jews were so overjoyed that Hyrcanus was made no more than ethnarch, they overlooked the cause of Aristobulus' defeat—"he would surrender neither the money nor the garrison."¹⁵ Or that Pompey "entered the temple by right of conquest . . . the sanctuary was empty, and there was naught behind the veil."¹⁶ Not even when that same temple was an ash heap and all the glory gone, was the free spirit quenched. Titus berated the last ten thousand clambering over the ruins. "You present yourselves in arms, too, without as much as pretending to be suppliants."¹⁷

To the Romans Palestine was one of the provinces, which like all the rest—north, east, south, and west—submitted to the benefits of Roman rule only under compulsion. The first Cæsars had little personal liking for the far-off possessions ruled in their name. Lieutenants, who could be cruel or kind, according to their disposition, won these lands. Conquest moreover brought death to the victor, the surest method of preventing usurpation. To Rome, it was of vast military importance to stretch an even road, across hill and dale, indifferent to owners' rights and time-honored traditions of occupancy. It ran four thousand, six hundred miles of good hard surface, from Jerusalem to London. Its uniformity symbolized that precision and standardization which ignored the startling difference between the half-savage West and the ancient, settled Orient included within the far-flung lines of empire.

When it became subject to Rome, Syria formed merely the eastern frontier of the empire. Phœnicia and Palestine were detached or made appanages of Syria, as suited circumstance

and ruler. Yet for wealth and culture Antioch "yielded with reluctance to the majesty of Rome itself." Jerusalem, one of eleven geographical divisions, more prim and sacerdotal till the influence of Roman manners made itself fully felt, boasted an antiquity in letters and religion that caused its inhabitants to look down upon the upstart western world which could be faintly discerned from its topmost hills.

Syria and Palestine and all the east beyond preferred their own culture and mores, to what Rome borrowed from Greece. Therefore Rome held her eastern colonies by a living chain of legions whose proud boast was, that only those born into Roman citizenship could be of the military élite. To the Jews, all strangers were Gentiles. The Greeks improved upon the distinction; all non-Greeks were barbarians. The Romans sharpened the edge of this difference by regarding all those, even within the empire, who were not born to the purple of citizenship, as barbarians. To this disparity, a constant source of irritation to proud peoples, was added heavy taxes and the galling presence of a provocative foreign soldiery. These factors kept the subject peoples in revolt throughout the larger period of the empire's existence.

Of all those held within the Roman leash the Jews and their Syrian kindred were the least capable of accepting subjugation as their lot. Mercurial by temperament, impatient of restraint, harboring memories of a great past, and moved by a faith that nullified and mocked all that the Romans cherished, the Jews, from their first alliance in the Hasmonean age, until their power for physical revolt wholly ceased, were only held to Rome by military power. Rome never understood her antithesis, Judea. The searing protests against idolatry, so often repeated that they sound like a chant lasting a century, impressed not even the most cautious of the Cæsars.

Only the contumacious, stubborn and querulous character of the Jews impressed the Romans. For this and cognate reasons they made answer, from 23 C.E., by maintaining, as a garrison in Syria and Palestine, one-sixth of the Roman army. That so large a force was necessary was evident from Herod's need for eleven regiments, six thousand horse, and Syrian auxiliaries.¹⁷

Four legions, each composed of six thousand eight hundred and thirty Romans, and auxiliaries that brought up each of these celebrated units to twelve thousand five hundred men—fearing, like all Romans, to be forgotten, left for posterity ample inscriptions of their encampments and deeds. Thus we know that the peace footing of fifty thousand men was composed of III. Gallicia, VI. Ferrata, X. Fretensis, and XII. Fulminata.¹⁹ Three of these legions for a century thereafter ruled the land with sword and lance.

Antipater, financed by Nabatean gold, was named by Julius Cæsar no more than Procurator of Judea. This less than kingship reconciled the Jews, sensitive at every step, to the Cæsar's policy of organizing the country into five administrative units governed from Jerusalem, Gaza, Jericho, Amathus (east of the Jordan), and Sepphoris.

Alexander Jannæus had ventured to style himself king, but the title was not popular, and it was the Roman Senate, not the Palestineans, who hailed Herod as "King of the Jews." That title Herod bought for seven hundred talents of gold when, on the murder of Julius Cæsar, Caius Cassius became, temporarily, master of Syria and Palestine.²⁰

Only by the forcible capture of Jerusalem in 37 B.C.E. did the Idumean and half-foreigner secure his throne and hold it by his shrewd marriage to Mariamne, princess of the old Maccabæan house. Even this alliance, and his attempt to placate his subjects by erecting a new and magnificent temple, did not blot out the memory of that golden eagle which he had placed over its portals. That wrong was rehearsed among the popular grievances, when his son came to the throne. His foreign rule, and the "body-guard of Cleopatra" (four hundred Gauls)²¹ given him, irked a people to whom his theaters and their Greek performances were profanation, and his cultivation of foreign orators, sophists, and artists, alien measures.

The embassies to Rome constantly demanded for the Jews "liberty of their country and the exercise of their religion." Liberty meant self-rule. The Herodians were too Romanized to understand what the Jews meant by the exercise of their religion. They met all problems by lavish building projects,

prodigious expenditures for luxuries, and the engulfing of the people in the great stream of Roman life. Nor did Pontius Pilate, fifth of the procurators sent to Palestine to bolster Herodian rule with the swords of mercenaries, understand the Jews better. Loyal to the emperor cult, he smuggled into Casarea ensigns which, because they bore the Cæsar's likeness, were to the Jews symbols of detestable idolatry. The storm he then raised, of which Josephus draws a detailed picture, indirectly casts grave doubt upon the accuracy of the story, written by others long after the event, of the entrance of the Nazarene into Jerusalem.

Agrippa, whose "wealth and power . . . exceeded the bounds of imagination" and who, despite the great resources of the state, was deeply in debt, delayed the great revolt, already impending, by checking mad Caligula's desire to be deified by a statue in Jerusalem. But even Agrippa was sufficiently Romanized (and therefore foreign to Jewish sentiment) to put his lineaments on the coins, and thus bequeathed us the only likeness we have of a Jewish king.

Politically the Jews were in bad plight. A delegation of fifty Jerusalemites, supported by a petition signed by eight thousand Jews in Rome, demanded the deposition of Archelaus. Weary of four-score years of struggle and angry at the charge of truculence, they offered, when Agrippa died, in 44 C.E., and his seventeen-year-old son was given the throne, and Palestine made subordinate to Syria, to accept this rule and prove that they were not turbulent either by temper or by inclination. Their complaint was that royal extravagance had impoverished them. They craved more simplicity and less taxes. The king should not violate their privileges, and freedom of religion should be theirs. The pomp of Herod's last rites were ample reminders of both these requests. Herod was buried with his golden crown and scepter, in robes of purple. "The bier was covered with embroidery of gold and jewelry, and an admixture of purple. . . . The Guards, Thracian troops, Germans and Gauls, marched at the head . . . five hundred domestics and freemen, brought up the train." ²²

Rome answered by sending its worst to rule the country.

The Procurator Felix, "with all manner of cruelty and lust . . . exercised royal functions in the spirit of a slave." ²² The sycophantic Josephus thought Gessius Florus still worse. "Immunities for crimes of the blackest dye were freely sold by the mercenary governor, Albinus." ²⁴ It was more than "simply the relations as they became fatefully developed of the imperial government to the Jewish state" ²⁵ that, in 66 C.E., started the rebellion, for which, as we have seen, the Romans were adequately prepared.

IV

In the year 6 C.E., Judas the Galilean, scion of an old revolutionary family, taught the enflaming doctrine, "we have no Lord or master but God." The masses were caught in the swirl of this republican and religious dogma. It aroused in them that zeal which made them offer their throats for the cutting to Pontius Pilate, and later to bare their breasts to Roman short swords and arrows. Of their Roman overlords they no doubt anticipated the judgment of Gibbon: "Dark unrelenting Tiberius, and furious Caligula, the stupid Claudius, the profligate and cruel Nero, the beastly Vitellius," ²⁶ all forgotten but for their infamies.

"They loved freedom above everything else in the world," ²⁷ and the haste with which, once the revolt was well under way, they coined money, a usage of no great antiquity with the Jews, indicates how great was their detestation of "rendering unto Cæsar" the symbol as well as the substance of authority. The Moderates in Jerusalem argued to no purpose. They had Romanized in manner and in speech and in luxury. Their display of personal ostentation was in no small part the cause of internal strife. From the masses came the particularistic Pharisees, the nationalistic Zealots, the mystic Essenes, and finally the blood-drenching, bitter Sicarii. All these united in a common national aspiration. Their tumultuous divisions, the desperate result of diversity in method of achievement impressed Titus less than that "they live in obedience to their superiors and in good will and union one with another." ²⁸ So, according to Josephus, the Roman spoke of the enemy. A creed that

would physically accept hateful servitude and live mentally in space attracted no more interest than the fate of a feather in a typhoon.

By their numbers, their cities, and their strongholds, the Jews felt a fair match for that great power which spread its trained armies throughout the world.*

This Jewish viewpoint is fairly indicated in the debates and monologues with which Josephus besprinkles his narrative of the war. Struggle was inevitable. Rome was great, but spread out over the world. Palestine was a highly concentrated area, closely packed with millions of people. Of Galilee "not a foot . . . lies unmanured." Opposing the serried ranks and the "tortoise movement" of fifty thousand hated soldiers were the inhabitants of fifty good-sized towns and over a thousand villages. But for one bad harvest, in a long period of agricultural prosperity, the land was affluent. In the last year of the war the olive oil production was on an unusually large scale.

The pride of Jerusalem was not a thing of dreams. "The king's palace with its incredible collection of the choicest marbles . . . roofs wonderful . . . for the length of the beams and the splendor of the ornaments. . . . Porches and galleries in abundance. . . . Nurseries and plants. Long and pleasant walks, beset with cisterns, fountains, pipes, and brazen figures

* The discovery of ossuary and synagogue inscriptions in all parts of Palestine throw welcome light on the position of the Jews from the century prior to the fall of Jerusalem, to about the end of the third century. The notable inscription on a synagogue in Jerusalem and the massive remains of buildings in Galilee are all most probably of dates prior to 70 C.E., for Robinson well says (Researches, 1858, p. 71) "the splendor of these edifices . . . suggest a condition of prosperity, and wealth, and influence" of which there is no evidence in the centuries following the Roman conquest. On the other hand, a number of the finds indicate by their longing for peace that the humbler structures were erected in the second and third centuries. Dr. Samuel Klein, "Corpus Inscriptionum," the first attempt to catalogue the Jewish material discovered to 1920, lists building or synagogue inscriptions at Emmaus ('Amwas) Ashdod, Chorazin, Umm Al-'Amad, Edditike, Ummel Kanatir, Chirbet Semmaka (Carmel) 'Ain ed Dok (north of Jericho), Gaza, Kefar Kenna, 'Alma (north of Safed), Gischala (ed-Dischis), Kasjun (Kesun), Meron, Capernaum, Kefar Birim, Irbid, Tel Hum, Kedes, and, in Trans-Jordan, at Chirbet Kanef, in the Jaulan, Nawa (Naua), Jakuk (north of Irbid), and at Beisan (p. 63 *et. seq.*). The information has been increased since this compilation. All the facts indicate close settlement of the land, and justify Josephus' descriptions of contemporary conditions.

issuing forth water." The temple excelled the palace. "Galleries upheld by pillars of white marble all of a piece . . . wainscotted with cedar . . . some of the gates were plated with gold and silver, posts, front and all. . . . There were lavers and branches of vines overhead, and large clusters of grapes that hung pendant between five and six feet deep—all of gold.* . . . Babylonian tapestry . . . interwoven blue, purple, and scarlet." The outside "was charming to a degree, being faced everywhere with substantial gold plates that sparkled like the beams of the sun."

The Temple treasury was loaded with gifts; the storehouses in Jerusalem were glutted with ritual spices. A people who had slaughtered a quarter of a million lambs for a single Passover possessed an obvious abundance of food. At Masada, and at other storehouses, there were great reserves of wine, oil, pulse, and dates.

The economic expansion of Palestine had been continuous from the date Simon the Maccabean took "Joppa for a haven and made an entrance to the isles of the sea!"²² That act was his "glory."

The grafter Gabinius had rebuilt Dora, and restored Gaza, "holy, and inviolate, and autonomous," and with intermissions it served for six centuries as mart and seaport. Herod the Great not only added to the political and commercial territory of Palestine, but his commodious city of Cæsarea on the rocky coastal ledges, with its great harbor, rivalling the best of Greece, gave another opening to sea-borne trade. Aqaba on the gulf was a thriving center for Indian trade. But it was part of Herod's policy to ring-fence Judea, whose inhabitants he never trusted, with a series of Hellenized cities. Hence Sebaste (Samaria), with its six thousand burgesses partly drawn from the Roman army, and with its magnificent temple, containing a forecourt seventy yards long, a double flight of steps, seventy feet wide, and the street of columns, which still stands. Eakkaia was started in true Roman style by Herod with troops placed in permanent residence. He developed Azotus (Ashdod) and beautified Ascalon, the mother city of Aphrodite, according to

* The golden grapevine was seen in Rome, centuries later.

Herodotus, which in the days of Ammianus, the historian, was still "the fairest city in Palestine."

To the north of Azotus he built Antipatris, and to the east of Jerusalem he glorified Jericho, his favorite resort, which was rich enough in "balm of Gilead" to provide a revenue which Antony gave to Cleopatra. In the Jordan valley he built Phasælis. Gadara had become sufficiently important to claim its right to autonomy. Through all these cities he scattered with a lavish hand temples, palaces, theaters, and bazaars, and many statues of heroic size. The Decapolis was a trade league of ten "freed" towns. Scythopolis (Beisan) was the chief city of this group of trading centers which crowned the economic political system.

Claudius had settled Acre, a city of great antiquity, with colonists drawn from the legions. Finally, there were the fortress towns of Gaban and Aggripias. The Herodian dynasty carried on the founder's theory. Philip built Cæsarea Philippi at Banias, and refashioned Bethsaida as Julias. Having thus honored one notorious woman, he remembered another, by founding Livia. By forced colonization Herod Antipater started Tiberias on its long career. A Macedonian levy settled what is now Nablus. Nor were these mean or petty places.³⁰

National prosperity required the strengthening of four castles, and the building of two new ones. The trade routes needed protection, and customs collections on Trans-Jordan trade was thus facilitated.

Agrippa's widening of the capital, too, was evidence of success. To maintain it was the national concern. Two conflicts give evidence of the keen appreciation of economic values, and of the desire to solve national commercial problems by peaceful means. The first, a difference over the right and title of newly acquired centers of husbandry and trade, was less dramatic than the second which concerned the rightful ownership of Cæsarea. Nero decided against the Jews in the latter case, though the Jews, in their earnest forensic to protect the well-being of the state, held Herod, alien to them in Jerusalem, as a Jew in Cæsarea, and entirely ignored the statues to Augustus and Rome with which he profaned the seaport town. Eco-

conomic shrewdness was again displayed when, the Temple having been completed, eighteen thousand workmen faced idleness and empty pockets. Agrippa was advised to employ these artisans on the rebuilding of the eastern cloisters of the Temple. But that monarch was more interested in Beirut, a city of his reconstruction which appreciated his extravagant theater and sculpture gallery. Jerusalem, with its palaces and temple, its amphitheater and city hall, its elaborate synagogues of the wealthy Diaspora communities of Alexandria and Palmyra,³¹ its lumber and oil markets, its trade hall outside the city limits, its extensive sewage system, and its comprehensive and elaborate water conduits,³² was an opulent and expanding city. Surrounded by walls one hundred and twenty feet high, flanked by ravines, it seemed impregnable. So, too, thought the Romans.³³

V

The soil was the source of Palestine's wealth. It had been so ages before; its fruitfulness was to amaze observers a thousand years later. With no rivers, and without artificial irrigation, it yielded as great crops in the tenth century as in the first. Two centuries earlier, Pseudo-Aristeas had commented on the corn, pulse, vines and honey, "with numberless fruit trees and palms, and rich pasture." At the head of the products of Judea stood the olive. Its oil, tanked in cisterns and pits, provided the necessary surplus for the exchange of commodities, and a considerable measure of cash trade. Vineyards, as the place-names indicate, dotted the environs of Jerusalem, and the vintages were favored by the connoisseurs of Rome. The fruit of the tamarisk and the carob were consumed in the country; but on the backs of asses and camels, figs, pomegranates, dates, nuts, and almonds were transshipped to world markets. Salt came from the Dead Sea. Herds and "small cattle" were on the hills. The desert nomads flocked to Hebron and Gaza to sell cattle, butter, cheese, alum, alkali, and herbs in exchange for oil and fruits.

Export was, moreover, increased by three industries. First came the celebrated Tyrian purple dye, with its subsidiaries; the sand of the Belus was the basis of a glass industry that shipped tear bottles to Egypt and to Rome at a time when glass

ornaments were precious. At the south end of Lake Tiberias was perhaps the first purely manufacturing town known in economic history. For in our common tongue the Greek, Tarichæa, means no more than "Pickletown." Its sole business was the salting, drying, preserving, and bottling of Tiberias lake fish, which was exported as far west as Spain.

Southern Palestine grew in importance and wealth, because it was the transportation center for the asphalt * dredged from the Dead Sea.⁴ The asphalt was used as a preservative in embalming. Gold from Arabia flowed into the land, and copper and iron were found in the Lebanon hills.

The through transportation of the products of the further East—incense, perfumes, spices, and drugs—enriched trade, as well as the customs receipts. The royal revenues were large—fully comparable to the twentieth-century income of Palestine. The Temple treasury was richer still. Into its coffers went the Temple tax, the first fruits, and the offerings. It easily sustained the fifteen thousand non-productive men devoted to its service. Surplus wealth demanded, for gold and goods, ample storage places. But for the importation of wheat and lumber, Palestine was a self-contained land. Of luxuries in the common judgment, it needed none. The masses of Judea, Samaria, and Galilee, were small-town men and villagers. They hated the soft and expensive manners that Jerusalem aped from Rome.

Applying Moltke's famous remark concerning London, Palestine, to the Romans, was "well worth sacking." But they were less anxious to destroy than to profit. Each year three million dollars at least went to Rome, and with the added grievance, as the Judean embassy made clear to Augustus, that they had not been "delivered from the kingly and similar form of government."⁵

The Roman administrative divisions, together with their road system, emphasize the sources of Palestinian affluence. First came the Hauran, "the granary of Damascus," extending to the desert and divided into four provinces. Then lower, on the Trans-Jordan side, the vine and cattle province of Bashan, through which ran the road, still visible, to Baghdad and Basra,

* Mummy is the Egyptian word for asphalt.

the Indian port on the Persian Gulf. Galilee was rich in olive oil. Judea and Samaria were rich in vineyards and fruits. The plain of Jericho added its semi-tropical herbs and palms. The great road from Egypt ran through Beersheba to Jerusalem, which was almost the center of the converging system of trade and military roads, to Damascus and Palmyra, crossing the Jordan at Jisr el-Mujamieh. Galilee was criss-crossed with roads.

No part of the densely populated country was remote; the villages were not more than a mile apart; and, as the colorful story of Josephus denotes, Jerusalem, so far from epitomizing the isolation of Judea, was a cosmopolitan city in which were Germans, Gauls, and even Britons, to say nothing of Romans and Greeks.

How far the Roman "city state" theory affected the Jews in their relation to Tyre and Sidon is not clear, for the independence of these port towns was not absolute. The practice of issuing local coinage and of devising local eras, such as are denoted on the coins and in some inscriptions, suggest that the cities of Palestine copied the Roman policy of advancing city interest over that of the country as a whole. But this evidence is more prominent after the fall of Jerusalem than before, when the hemming-in policy, which gave a maximum of revenue and control, was in fullest force. Then every city east and west of the Jordan stamped its "era" on its own coinage. "In the absolute autonomy of the city state [there was] an ineradicable element in the idea of well-being . . . their real patriotism was devoted to the walled city . . . proud pedigrees were presented by many"⁸⁶—almost a perfect picture of the Jerusalemite's social concept at this date, even to "high priestly offices which stirred the ambitious." But, politically, the Jew was other-minded.

From the day Gabinius attached to Syria the coastal towns from Beirut to Gaza, there was trouble in Palestine. Josephus calls Jerusalem the "navel" of Judea, and though he stresses all the political divisions, Roman and Herodian, it is evident that the Jews regarded them as no more than county lines. Galilean, Samaritan, Judean—Jerusalem was the capital to all

of them, and the Temple the concentration point of race, nation, and faith. Phœnicians were in the coastal towns, as were other foreigners, but there is betrayed no local characteristic that distinguishes Jew from Jew in Josephus' twice-told story of war. If we note a difference at all it is a natural one—city folk were less, the country folk more hardy. Hillmen and plainsmen, they were all overwhelmingly guided by a common thought.

VI

"Slavery of taxation," and its incidental system—assessment, valuation, apportionment—and finally the census, were gall and wormwood to the Jews. But this, and all things else, turned on what the Romans could not comprehend—even Josephus tried to explain it and failed—the idea of God and his worship in the Temple with its empty sanctuary. The "way of Jewish life" turned on that axis. It, too, was the great centralizing influence which kept world Jewry in close touch with the capital. "Innumerable companies of men from a countless variety of countries," says Philo,³⁷ "came to the Temple at every festival." And the crude Roman legionary, who had a god in every town, mocked.

Here was tinder easily set aflame. The Diaspora was united to Palestine by the direct payment of the half-shekel Temple tax. Struggles, as old as this, over gold reserves helped to bring on the war. The Romans ignored the piety of this self-taxation; they opposed the transfer from the cities in which the collections were made of the large sums of gold thus raised. It needed but the venality and cupidity of local administrators, from whom there was no appeal, to breed the storm.

VII

A trifling incident, the walling-in of the entrance of a synagogue in Cæsarea, started the revolt in that city, in 66. Another equally trivial happening in Jerusalem spread the insurgency throughout the country, preliminary skirmishes.

The war began, as it ended, at Masada, "the Gorgon's head magnified to a mountain."³⁸ At the first onset the Jews cap-

tured the strong fortress. Bare, brown, and inaccessible, seven-hundred feet above the Dead Sea, Herod had built within the fortress a palace and a great storage place, in which he took shelter with Mariamne when Jerusalem wanted neither of them. Masada was the first Jewish victory.

The Zealots were aflame with the intoxication of victory. Cestus Gallus had come south to besiege Jerusalem, and to whip the rebels. With twenty thousand men behind him he lacked stomach for the fight, broke camp, and ordered a retirement. The retreat became a rout. The Roman legions fled, a quarter of their number was killed, and the XII. Fulminata lost its standards. For that disgrace it was disbanded. The VI. Ferrata was utterly worsted, and a great amount of treasure fell to the Jews who thus vindicated their old ability to fight successfully in the passes of their native mountains. Jerusalem, rejoicing, summoned a popular assembly; two governors, as well as generals, were appointed to organize the campaign.

Mortified by the defeat of the legions and the loss of the standards, Cestus Gallus was deposed as governor of Syria, and Vespasian, a veteran of the German wars, was brought into the field. This son of a petty revenue officer, grandson of a common soldier, thus made imperial governor of Judea, climbed a considerable number of rungs on the ladder of his ambition. A new army was recruited. Titus brought three legions from Alexandria, through Tamis, Pelusium, Gaza, Ascalon, and Jaffa, to his father's aid. Another son, Domitian, held the reserves in Syria, to keep that country in order while Vespasian over-ran Galilee, and in Samaria killed eleven thousand Samaritans who defended Shechem. Stubborn resistance was offered at every place. Vespasian spent nearly a year in taking and re-fortifying Jamnia, Ashdod, Hadida in the west, Bethel and Hophna to the north, Jericho to the east, and Hebron with the "Idumæan strongholds to the south before he led his impatient legions upon Jerusalem."

VIII

Vespasian and his son Titus took no chances with the militant Jews who gave battle at every turn. Whether it was the

destruction of a possible pirate's lair at Jaffa, the inhabitants of which port were put to the sword, the burning of Lydda, or the defeat of the ferrymen on Lake Tiberias, they did not approach Jerusalem until they felt themselves masters of the rest of the country. Other reasons, too, guided the postponement of the inevitable siege of the capital.

Palestine was Vespasian's great pawn in his gamble for the imperial crown. Galba was dead, and Rome distracted concerning a successor. "Panic-stricken Rome fearing simultaneously treason's direful traces, Otho's inveterate infamy . . . some presaged Vespasian the armies of the East . . . they dread fresh wars and disasters."³⁹ The empire rent by civil war, and the legions divided in their allegiance, Vespasian in anticipation of events had sent Titus to Rome for "imperial adoption." Galba had died too soon, and, between Otho and Vitellius, Vespasian sided with the former and swore his army to fealty to Otho. But "when it was known that Otho and Vitellius were impiously struggling for imperial plunder, then lest, whilst others reaped imperial prizes, slavery's yoke alone might be their fate, the eastern soldiery murmured and viewed their strength. At hand were seven legions, Syria, Judea, and vast auxiliary forces . . . a waiting game was resolved upon by Vespasian and Mucianus, now in concert with their experienced staff. The best were patriots, many were freebooters, others desperadoes. So good and bad, for different reasons, all equally yearned for war."⁴⁰ Vitellius gained the upper hand in the struggle for the crown, but the "whole eastern army was aflame at the insolence" of the soldiers he sent to Syria.⁴¹

The Jewish war was halted for a year while the legions in the west and in Egypt fought out the rights and wrongs of the claimants to the throne. Within Jerusalem the three celebrated factions, in addition to their own differences, may have been divided between Otho, Vitellius, and the well-bruited desires of Vespasian. The internecine strife between the legions slowly marching through Judea and Samaria must have reached the ears of the Jews as they hurried to the shelter of the city for the last and fatal Passover. The renegade king and his sister Berenice were wholly committed to Vespasian. Josephus with

rare insight had won his way to Vespasian's friendship by prophesying him the purple, and accordingly had yielded Jotapa to the Romans. In the long harangue which he claims to have delivered to the Jews manning the walls, there is the shadow of partizan appeal. In a struggle, in which Jerusalem was the gem in that crown desired by Vespasian, the beleaguered Jews could not be otherwise than opposed to his success. This perhaps made the struggle all the more vindictive. Vespasian had been elected emperor in Cæsarea, but his cause needed not only the death of Vitellius, which was easily effected, but some bolstering among the rank and file. The scruples of the legions were overcome by a rumor that they were to be replaced by German troops. Even so, before he departed for Egypt, Vespasian on Mount Carmel propitiated Civa, the war god of the Philistines "naught had he save an altar and its awe."⁴²

Agrippa came from Rome to aid the Romans, and "no less a zealous partizan was Queen Berenice, in the bloom of youth and beauty." A council of state was held in Beirut, attended by a *corps d'élite* of the army in Judea. On its decision hung the fate of Jerusalem and of the Jewish state. It was decided that Titus should press on the Jewish war, and that Vespasian hold the keys of Egypt and await events.⁴³

Risking no rear-guard attacks Titus divided his army so that it could scour the country and approach the city from three sides. His forces were augmented from Syria and Egypt. "He was escorted by twenty cohorts of allied infantry and by eight squadrons of horse, as well as by the two kings, Agrippa and Schæmus, by the auxiliary forces of King Antiochus [of northern Syria] and by a strong band of Arabs who hated the Jews."⁴⁴

By Nisan 1, the Romans had concentrated on the Mount of Olives, and, as the celebrated "tortoise movement" could avail nothing against those high walls, Titus ordered the cutting down of the forest (never replanted) for battering rams, for towers, and for the catapults. The Jews destroyed these new engines of war. More lumber was required. All woods within ninety furlongs of Jerusalem were cut down. "The spot," says Josephus, "which was once deemed a paradise was now

become a desert . . . not a tree left standing." By deploying his forces Titus drew around Jerusalem a military cordon, seven deep, requiring for its execution twenty-five thousand men.

IX

Eleven hundred thousand human beings were cooped within the grim walls of the city at the Passover.* Streams of them had come for protection, perhaps as many in response to the urgent plea for defense. Some twenty-three thousand Jews had training in arms and could oppose the Romans circumvallating the city. Their councils were divided; traitors within the camp, moderates and weaklings. Through Josephus' inimical record of bitter factionalism we trace much discipline, high courage, and great resource. It was Titus who asked: "How comes it that the Jews, who have nothing but despair for their directors, should yet manage their affairs with so much consideration, stratagem, and success?" "They had nearly caught him, and his guard!

Cooped-up masses sickened and starved to death in the long siege, while lithe figures hazarded all in the vain attempt to gain victory. Confusion blurs the interior scene; well it might, for it was no occasion for a polite diarist. What we know most was written by unfriendly pens.

Names rather than men stretch across the abyss of time.

* These figures, which seem impossible, are reasonable in the light of the many studies of Josephus, and Tacitus, and modern surveys of the old city and its water supply. John Irwine Whitty (Water Supply and Sewerage for Jerusalem, London, 1863) made an elaborate technical survey of the problem of the past, in the interest of his project. He estimated the Jerusalem of the siege at 479¼ acres, the water requirements at five gallons per person a day, and believed that the facilities for water storage which he traced were adequate for an emergency such as is described in the great Passover celebrations. Munk estimated the population of the kingdoms at 5,000,000. Besant, who as secretary of the P. E. F., had ample opportunity for studying the statistics of all the archeologists, and engineers, and the computations of all the surveys, accepted Josephus' high figures as fairly accurate. The difficulty of realizing the dense population of the past is largely the influence of current observation. Whilst Burckhardt estimated the population of Trans-Jordan as not in excess of 60,000, Robinson was listing 446 ruined cities and villages in the same area. The walled Jerusalem captured by the Persians contained more inhabitants than are in the old and the new city today. Acre, in 1291, had 200,000 inhabitants. Palestine was gradually emptied of people between 1512 and 1800. The low point was probably reached in 1850, when estimates varied between fifty and one hundred thousand.

Eleazar, son of Simon, chief of the Zealots; Joseph, the son of Gorion; poverty-stricken, but resourceful and brave, John of Gischala; Judas, the son of Chalcis; Hezekiah, son of Chobas: "all men of rank and eminence"; James, son of Sofias; Simon, son of Gathlas; above all, the dominant figure, the governor, Simon bar Gorias, with fifteen thousand men divided into companies, under twenty officers, sallying forth to destroy Roman engines and to undermine towers, throwing their bodies in the wall breaches, and challenging Roman commanders to mortal combat. "A certain crafty Jew . . . Castor and ten others like himself" are immortalized by their opponent for laying an ambush for the sacred person of Titus.

Following the conqueror's record, step by step, we see mostly blood gushing in defense of point by point. From wall to wall amid incredible effort, the rebuilding of a new defense within the crumbling city while the Romans build a wall without. In the end, smoke. The city fired, the Temple burned, a great wail of grief, unending battle, and no request for quarter.

X

Let Tacitus, cynical Roman historian and contemporary, tell the story:

"When peace dawned once more on Italy, the anxieties of foreign war returned, and the anger of Rome was intensified by the remembrance that the Jews alone had not submitted to her sway.

"Titus pitched his camp before the walls of Jerusalem and displayed his legions in battle array. The Jews marshalled their lines close in under the very ramparts. . . . Our cavalry supported by some light auxiliary foot was sent forward against them and encountered them with no decisive result. . . . The Romans then prepared to storm the city. Indeed it seemed beneath their dignity to await the effect of famine on the foe, and they clamored for the perils of the fray, some of them under the inspiration of courage, but the majority through mere savagery and greed for booty. . . . The city, which occupied a commanding natural position, had been strengthened by vast works of defence . . . the towers when favored by high ground were raised to an altitude of sixty feet each, while on the slopes they reached as much as one hundred and twenty feet; within the fortifications a second line of defence surrounded the palace, and on a jutting crag stood the tower of Antony. . . .

"The Temple resembled a citadel, and had its own fortifications, which had been rendered superior to all the rest by the labor spent on their construction. . . . Their numbers were increased by a vast influx of the dregs of the inhabitants of the other cities that had been destroyed, for the most obstinate of the rebels had taken refuge in Jerusalem, and the spirit of faction was consequently all the more rampant there . . . a vast supply of corn was burnt. . . .

"We have heard that the number of the besieged, of every age, and including both sexes, were six hundred thousand. All the able-bodied men bore arms, and a number of the rest, far above the usual average in a population, were brave enough to do the same. Men and women were equally determined, and they plainly showed that, if they were forced to abandon their homes, they would dread life far more than death itself. Such were the city and the race, when the strength of their position prohibited either an assault or any attempt at surprise, which Cæsar Titus resolved to attack by a system of raised mounds and pent houses." " "

XI

That over a million people died from pestilence, disease, famine, and the sword, seems not at all impossible. The reward to the Romans was the contents of "a rich and luxurious town"; "to Titus two wall candlesticks, tables, cups, goblets—"all like those of the temple, of gold"—veils, sacerdotal habits, a great number of "sacrificing vessels, priests' habits and girdles, purple and scarlet stuffs, cinnamon, cassia, gums, and perfumes." " " The Temple not only had served as the national treasure house, but private individuals had stored their wealth there. It was the safe depository of the people. Hence the immense loot. Such immense booty was acquired by the soldiers, that gold in Syria was reduced to one half of its former value." " "

During the three days' festival, with which Titus celebrated his victory, the soldiers received "coronets of gold, had golden ornaments put about their necks, had lances pointed with gold put in their hands, were presented with silver medals . . . money in gold out of the booty, rich robes, and other things of value." " "

No mean struggle in world history was concluded when on August 7, of the year 70, the Temple was fired, and the Acra and Ophla districts of Jerusalem were put to the torch. Titus

was practically master of Judea; but the capture of the city occupied another month. Then the victor ordered the city levelled, and only three towers, Hippicus, Mariamne, and Phasaël, all located on the northern wall, and as much of the western wall as encompassed the western side of the fortress city were left standing for the shelter of the garrison permanently placed there.

Fronto, a freed slave, was left to guard the ruins with a legion which, with its Spanish and Thracian auxiliaries, were charged to crucify those Jews still holding out in the city limits. The princes of Adiabene, who play no further part in history, were sent to Rome as hostages for the king's loyalty. Seventeen thousand prisoners died of hunger; most of these under sixteen, particularly the female captives, were sold into slavery.

Vespasian declared all Judea his imperial property, and directed the Roman officials to divide the country into lots and to sell them to the highest bidder. Emmaus was fortified, and Nablus re-organized, as Flavia Neapolis. Titus proceeded on a triumphal tour to the north. The season was too inclement for sending either troops or captives to Rome by sea. So with Berenice as his probable companion, Titus and his chain of captives moved to Cæsarea, the official Roman capital with its Greek urban community, which, because Vespasian had been first hailed emperor there, had become the "first Flavian colony." Here the double birthday of Vespasian and Domitian was celebrated by a great triumphal festival. The royal munificence of the sports in the arena resulted in the slaughter of two thousand five hundred Jews. They were pitted against wild beasts, and against one another, in gladiatorial combat; but "all this is too little in the opinion of the Romans who bore the Jews a mortal aversion."⁵¹

Like scenes were enacted at Cæsarea Philippi, Agrippa's royal center at Banias, and at Beirut. Even then the country was not wholly subdued. Besides Agrippa's domain, Tyre retained some kind of independence, and the southern cities, including "Gaza the Holy," were holding out. The Jews fired Gaza, Ascalon, Acre, and Anthedon in their retreat.

The fortresses of Herodium, Machærus, and Masada, also

stood till Silva, who replaced Bassus as commander of the forces in the field, finally reduced these grim centers of Zealot bravery.

XII

The epic end of the challenge of a handful of men to the mistress of the world came at Masada. In that rock fortress, with its deep and craggy precipices, Eleazar and his Sicarii made their last stand. Its storerooms were well filled; arms and food there were in plenty for the nine hundred and sixty men, women, and children who organized the defense. Direct attack being impossible, the Romans cut off all escape by building an encircling wall. But Eleazar "entertained no thought of flying himself, or suffering any of his people to do so." They were consecrated to the faith: "no Lord, no master, but God." In the darkness of the night, silently they slew each other, setting flames to the stores. So they fell, "with swords in their hands, contending for liberty, and, in the act, preserving it. . . . At the break of day the Romans made every preparation for an assault, but as no enemy appeared, nor any noise . . . but the crackling of flames, they stood in amazement."⁵² The awesome silence of that extreme self-sacrifice still envelops Masada.

A Jewish pirate fleet, as the coins "Judæa Navalis" indicate, had been destroyed at Jaffa, and a fleet of river boats, commemorated in the legend "Victoria Navalis," was captured on Lake Gennesaret.

Vespasian, who had hurried to Rome to have the Senate confirm the election voted him by the soldiers in Cæsarea, was, with Titus, voted the added title of "pomerii" for increasing the limits of the empire. Heretofore Palestine had been held by a Roman legate as mandatory for the emperor; now the country became definitely one of the provinces of the empire. The Palestineans perceived no difference, but the legate and his subordinates did. Their ranks and pay were raised, and Tyre and Sidon demanded the continuance of their "autonomy." There was therefore considerable point to the triumphal processions which Vespasian and his two sons held

in Rome some months later. Seven hundred of the choice surviving captives were dragged in chains through the streets; pageants illustrating the war were given; the loot of the Temple exhibited on the shoulders of unarmed soldiers; and to crown the triumph, in accordance with custom, the ringleader, Simon bar Gioras, was executed on Capitoline Hill.

The victor's estimate of his triumph spells, even at a discount, his estimate of the defeated. The Romans emphasized, in the coins of victory, *Judæa Capta*, the destruction of the Jewish state. During his lifetime, in 81, the Senate voted Titus an Arch in the Circus Maximus, "because he . . . under the superintendence of his father, subdued the people of the Jews, destroyed the town of Hierosolyma which up to his time either had been besieged in vain by all generals, kings, and people, or not assailed at all," a palpable collection of falsehoods, demonstrating how incised marble can lie as well as the words of written records.* So precious was the memory of this victory that after Titus' death the Senate voted the Arch which still stands by the Tiber.

* This inscription was found in a Swiss convent. The inviolability of Jerusalem is of course false to earlier Roman as well as to Jewish records.

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CHAPTER II

THE ROMAN ERA CONTINUED FROM 70 TO 305 C.E.

IN the Herodian crown lands, at Jamnia, between Jaffa and Ashdod, Jochanan ben Zaccai drew together the remnants of Jewish life, and replaced the wrecked state by an academy. Ben Zaccai, pupil of Hillel, had anticipated the fate of Jerusalem, and at Jamnia, which Vespasian twice took, surrounded by his pupils, he heard of the burning of the Temple, and by his academy continued the Sanhedrin which had met "in the hall of hewn stone," i.e., the religious and non-political court. He was qualified for the new leadership. In his youth he had been a merchant, and in maturer years he sat daily in the shadow of the Temple, and lectured there. A Pharisee, he belonged to the peace party, but, by his great authority, he was able to perpetuate the court and its seventy elders, whose vagrant history is not inaptly described in the saying, "the *beth din* of the hall of hewn stone went on ten journeys till it settled in Tiberias."

His influence was such that Jamnia (Jabne) remains the symbol of Jewish learning and cultural aspirations. Though of all members of the Sanhedrin it was demanded that they should possess scholarship—including a knowledge of foreign tongues, modesty, and popularity, it may be presumed that neither Ben Zaccai, nor his first associates, though "learned in the law," were merely pundits. The pupils, who "sat in rows like vines in a vineyard," apparently gave ear to matters other than fine-drawn dialectics. Nor did the fugitives, who gradually found their way to B'nai Berak and to Lydda, limit their interests to recondite legal problems and to the neat elucidation of commentaries on Biblical texts and rabbinic decisions.

Something was demanded of these leaders that does not necessarily apply to a theological seminary. They had to be

strong, and courageous, tall, and of imposing appearance. Whether Ben Zaccai had these attributes the impersonal record relates not, but he died with this sentence on his lips: "prepare the throne for Hezekiah, the King of Judah, who is coming"—a Messianic suggestion, not so occult but that the most unlettered Jew, paying fifteen shekels to Rome, besides being forced to the menial task of repairing Roman guard houses, understood of what the great leader was thinking in his last moments. Roman-garrisoned Emmaus became a trade center. To Agrippa, Vespasian ceded Galilee. Perhaps this was the price of his treason to the Jewish state. Within his territory, Tiberias, Capernaum, and Sepphoris were safe havens for the Jews, and they flocked to these towns.

Cæsarea, "first Flavian colony," *Judæa capite*, without the full *jus Italicum*, now become the most cosmopolitan city in the land, was the Roman administrative center. Shechem, the Flavian "Neapolis," of which Nablus is an Arabic corruption, had a heathen population poured into it. To the ruins of Jerusalem came the handful of neo-Christians, who at the beginning of the siege had fled to Pella in Trans-Jordan. According to their traditions they then established a bishopric, but, except for heretical dissensions, they experienced nothing of note during the reign of fifteen successive bishops, till Hadrian's time.

"There were essays toward the occidental municipalising of the Jewish land," but the military cordon was not so severe but that rabbis travelled through Judea, crossing Samaria to reach Galilee. Much depopulated and impoverished, Judea proper was still, as before the four years of war, distinctly Jewish.¹ * There was no healing of wounds.

Roman hatred of the Jews was not assuaged by Titus' liaison with Berenice. Being foreign she could be no more than "concubine." He was politic enough, once he became sole emperor, to cast her aside. Tacitus, who pardons the royal infatuation for a Jewess, held it against the Jews that they evinced superiority by sexual exclusiveness. Manners, customs, and faith,

* The ossuary inscriptions indicate a widespread and continuing settlement of Jews in the succeeding centuries.

kept the breach between Jews and Romans wide open. The neo-Christian faith was therefore a good alternative for those Romans who feared to follow a few choice spirits and Judaise, and for those Jews willing to compromise but afraid to assimilate to Rome and paganism. Christianity's growth was, however, largely a non-Palestinean phenomenon. To the Romans the Jews were mentally, not physically, "untouchables." Palestinean neo-Christians and Samaritans were in no better plight. Paganism was part of the state code. Roman "tolerance" could include every possible god within the pantheon, but all must be part of the system. Broken Palestine was still a unit, rejecting all but One.

The scattered pagans now wielded influence. The high tension of war yielded slowly, and the commonplace of daily existence, as Justin Martyr's "Dialogue with Trypho the Jew"* later indicates, was lightened by theological disputations. The backbone of the revolt had been farmers and village craftsmen. The Jews were still mainly farmers. Vespasian ordered Liberius Maximus to sell the pasture lands, vineyards, and olive groves to strangers. So anxious were the Jews to retrieve their acres that the rabbis permitted the violation of the strict Sabbath laws, if repurchase could be effected. The *fiscus Judaicus*, the two drachmæ capitation tax, came from the products of the soil.

One symbol of the old authority remained with the conquered—they were permitted to collect their own tithes. But when Titus ruled alone (79-81), he demanded the old Temple tax as a tribute to Jupiter Capitolinus. In Palestine, neither Jew, Samaritan nor Christian, applied to Titus the fulsome flattery of Rome, "the love and delight of the human race." Old historians hint indeed that the land was disturbed by a succession of spurious messiahs. That, or the tax transfer, or some similar oppression, may have occasioned the petty rising, which in 85-6 led to the hasty shipment of one cohort of the Prætorian Lusitanian legion to Palestine.² We know no more

* Trypho is presumed to have escaped from the Bar Kokba War. But the Jew is obviously an imaginary character, and the dialogue which may have been composed or edited in the third century throws no light on contemporary events.

of it than the regiment's own chiselled record of its movement. Josephus, however, alludes to a rising, about this time, in Cyrene, and complains that he was falsely accused of having instigated it.

Peace prevailed during the first decade of Domitian's reign (81-96), but the conversion of Flavius Clemens and his wife, Flavia Domitilla, members of the imperial family, to Judaism inspired the hope that the emperor would aid in the rebuilding of the Temple. Instead, Agrippa's territory, on his death, was added to the province of Syria. A Palestinian delegation went to Rome, but its mission has not been elucidated.³ Domitian persecuted the Judaisers rather than the Jews, by attempting to enforce the payment of the two drachmæ capitation tax "from those who had in accordance with a fashionable craze adopted various habits of Jewish life."⁴ This explains the most notable incident in Nerva's short but peaceful reign of sixteen months (96-8), the ending of the denunciation involved in the collection of the Capitation, denoted on the coins *fisci Judaici Calumniam sublata*. This could have affected Palestine less than if, as related by a Church historian,⁵ Nerva had recalled the Jewish exiles to their homeland, and had their goods restored to them.

II

Blood flowed again at the turn of the century. The Spaniard, Marcus Trajanus, though sixty when he became a Cæsar, was athirst for dominion, and led his armies in person. So from the beginning of his reign, in 98, he had difficulties with the "provinces." . . . "In the year of Rome 858, being the eighth year of Trajan (106-7), that emperor marched into the East, and his legions were everywhere victorious. His general, Cornelius Palma, entered Bashan and Peræa, subdued the whole country east of the Jordan, to the desert on the east and to the defiles of Edom on the south, and formed the province of Arabia. Bostra (Bozrah) was made the seat of government, and was called on the money of the period 'Nova Trajana Bostra.' " ⁶

Dio Cassius mentioned that Bozrah was made the seat of

a prefecture under Trajan. On the Arnon is a stone, dated about 112, showing that Trajan "father of his country after the reduction of the province . . . opened and paved a new road from the frontier." ⁷

This conscious Alexandrian scheme of conquest invited the alignment of all subject peoples for a common cause. "Moors were provocative, Samaritans attacking, Britons defiant of control. Egypt was a prey to sedition; Libya and Palestine had risen in revolt." ⁸

By 116 a national Jewish rising had been started in Cyrene, and a Jewish king acclaimed by the populace.⁹ Palestine rose in sympathy. The emperor was specially vindictive against those Jews who "were of the tribe of David."¹⁰ Still freely scattered throughout Judea, they responded to the call of Julianus Alexander and Pappus, and assembled on the Plain of Rimmon to organize war against the hated Roman. The Jews of Cyprus, Libya, and Egypt were soon aflame for revolt. Syria and the whole East joined in the struggle.

Trajan conducted the war from Syria. Lucius Quietus, having conquered the eastern rebels, was sent to Palestine, and laid siege to Lydda, where the Jews had gathered around the patriarch, Gamaliel II. The rabbinic account, which seems sympathetic to this particular rising, records a great slaughter at Lydda, including the instigators, Julianus and Pappus, neither of whom was a Palestinian.

In an obscure town in Asia Minor, in August, 117, Trajan died from a paralytic stroke. Plotina, his wife, was in camp with him, and, at her suggestion, supported by the army, Ælis Hadrian, Trajan's adopted son, then in Syria, was hailed as proconsul, with Catullus Severus as governor general of Syria. For his share in the military victories, the Moorish general, Lucius Quietus, was made governor of Judea. But fearful of Quietus' ambitions, Hadrian replaced the Moor, who was executed, by Quintus Marcius Turbo, who brought Moorish forces into Palestine to end the guerrilla warfare still in progress. The real dimension of this struggle, which began in Trajan's reign and continued to harass Hadrian, is attested by the great slaughter reported in Cyrenaica, Libya, and Cyprus. In

Palestine, Jamnia ceased to be the meeting place of the Sanhedrin. This outpost of Jewish culture disappeared in the struggle; thereafter the schools are found in Galilee.

A promise that the Jews might re-erect their temple, according to Jewish historians, brought peace. But Trajan was dead before the war ended, and Hadrian, though in Syria, did not visit Palestine before hastening to Rome to receive the crown. The Jewish Sibyl wrote of

. . . the town beloved of God he made
Brighter than stars or sun, or than the moon
Adorned them brighter, and reared a holy Temple.

The wish was there, undoubtedly, with the Jews, but it interested neither Trajan nor Hadrian.

III

Fair-skinned, full-bearded Hadrian, still proconsul, set out in 130 from Antioch, and journeyed along the coast to Judea and Egypt. "The forest of Lebanon quickened his business instinct. Better use must be made of the trees." He reserved four specimens for his own use, as state property. They could help build the Roman navy. The rest he assigned to private owners. He reached Gaza, and then travelled to Jerusalem, and as far up the Jordan as Tiberias. But Jerusalem attracted him. Amid the desolation, created by Titus, there had sprung up seven synagogues and a church.

His vanity, which had already added his name or his statues to many places, dictated that on the ruins of the once famous Jewish capital Hadrian would build a new city. A Roman colony should be established there, dedicated to the great deity whose name he bore; here he would erect Ælia Capitolina. Obedient Tineius Rufus, governor of Judea, started to carry out the imperial orders. The proconsul, however, loitered for some time in Egypt, and from there reported to the Senate that in Palestine all was quiet. That solemn body was so pleased with this assurance that it had coins struck: *Adventui Aug. Judæa*.

His biographers laud Hadrian as "a far-sighted,



lover of peace and a cultivator of the fine arts."¹¹ That description does not comport with the policy he adopted in Palestine. Or, the Jews were still beneath contempt. Mommsen complains: "ordinary acts of administration which were accepted without opposition throughout the empire affected the Hebrews just where the full resisting powers of the national faith had its seat, and thereby called forth, probably to the surprise of the governors themselves, an insurrection which was in fact a war." The revolt can be explained as a reaction to onerous taxes. The Jews were very poor. In Sepphoris, weekly hair-cutting was regarded as a sign of wealth.¹² A contemporary rabbinical exegesis explains the name Ahasuerus as meaning the reduction of the people to poverty by taxation.¹³ The Jewish farmers in the valley of Jezreel, and the students in the Galilean schools, were affronted by Hadrian's decision to pollute the place of the sanctuary with an idol, and to erase the name of Jerusalem and to replace it with one selected from the Pantheon.

Moreover, to increase their anger, he had prohibited circumcision. The pagan practice of castration, in Rome, may have been the cause for this interdiction of the Jewish rite. The hilltops exchanged signals of revolt; the valleys filled with the most desperate rebels that ever chose to face the Roman standards.

IV

No Josephus recorded the greatest of blood-drenched Jewish adventures. Even for the Roman record we must turn to the scant pages of Dio Cassius. But from the length of the war and from the numbers engaged, we can freely accept Mommsen's verdict that it was "an insurrection which . . . had not its match for intensity and duration in the history of the Roman imperial period."¹⁴ We can, in fact, go further and, copying the Roman records, begin by describing it as a revolt, and end by designating it the Jewish war. . . . In intensity, and the scale on which it was fought, it vied with the war—in Roman eyes also a revolt—which brought fame to Titus.

The most striking Jewish figure of the age was Akiba ben Joseph, a shepherd, who, in middle age, became teacher and leader both of the Academy and the nation. At his school in B'nai Berak he gathered forty-eight thousand followers, euphemistically "pupils." He bridged the gulf between the fall of Jerusalem, which occurred when he was about twenty years of age, and the opening of the Bar Kokba war. He had been to Rome, and had travelled in Babylon. Legend regards him as the real organizer of the struggle; but he fills so large a space in Jewish myth that he stands alone as the man who braved both heaven and hell, and received burial at the hands of Elijah. No tribute could rise beyond this, though to scholars he is essentially the founder of the Rabbinical system. Without the sanction of this native of Lydda, and subsequent victim of Tineius Rufus, the great effort to free Palestine from the hated Roman could not have been attempted. His approval of Bar Kokba is admitted. Few world-shaking events are so obscurely recorded.

By the spring of 132 the Jews began to reassemble in that ancient theater of battle, the Plain of Rimmon. A hitherto unknown man, Simon bar Kokba—his name, lineage, and place of origin are all in doubt—was hailed as leader, and made military director of the impending conflict. In the fragments of myth and fancy that sparingly surround him, we recognize a crude soldier of great physical strength; a hard, enduring man, capable perhaps of a few conjuring tricks with which to fool the multitude. Yet there enters so little that is personal in his story—in success he betrayed no vanity—that in all probability the opprobrium of being a pseudo-Messiah was only cast upon him in the bitterness of national disaster. At the height of his power, when he had gained all that the contemporary mind demanded of a victorious and therefore acceptable Messiah, an independent Jewish state, loyal to the national opposition to the use of the kingly title, he styled himself no more than "prince."

Portents favored the effort he led. Roman ruled, and now Latin-speaking Cæsarea on the coast, capital of Palestine, and Emmaus, held by a Roman garrison, were partially destroyed

by earthquake. God was shaking Rome to its fall. So read the sign to the Jews, who for the fourth time in sixty years rose against alien rule. The Samaritans, accepting the same interpretation of the earthquakes, joined the Jewish ranks. Heathens also rallied to the rebel cause, and from the nearby diaspora of Alexandria, Syria, and Arabia, the Jews hurried to Palestine.

Bar Kokba moved through the valley to the coast, and fortified Cabul, and thus boldly took a position between the garrisons in Palestine and the larger army of the Romans in Syria. The troops in Emmaus and in Nablus were defeated; Cæsarea was captured; Tineius Rufus had to retreat, hastily, with two legions badly punished. Maintaining the aggressive, Bar Kokba forced the Romans to evacuate Galilee and Samaria, and then marched toward Jerusalem. The governor of Judea demanded aid from Publicius Marcellus, legate of Syria. That official glimpsed something of what was afoot in Judea, for he took two legions with him when he marched to meet Rufus. His deputy, Tiberius Severus, in an inscription, boasting of his rise in authority, saw no more ahead than "the Jewish revolt."

The Romans had no liking for skirmishes in the mountain passes. Bar Kokba apparently unchecked by serious opposition reached Jerusalem, and entered it a victor. Wrecked and ruined, it was still the hub of the Jewish universe, the capital. Bar Kokba struck coins as evidence that the life of the state had been renewed. The gusto of triumph is in that mintage, "the deliverance of Jerusalem," struck across a coin of Titus. The old laws were re-established, and those neo-Christians who had not fled to Pella were harshly treated.

The revolt had ceased to be an insurrection. Rome had to wage war against a successful revolution. With a cohort of the Prætorian guard, Hadrian came to Antioch to direct the campaign. Regimental movements are the only records we have of the struggle. Four legions and their auxiliaries were employed by Hadrian, but they could not cope with the Jewish army. Isaurian and Arab auxiliaries were called to the battlefield. More detachments came from other fronts. All to no purpose. The months began to run to years. At length Hadrian sent for Julius Severus and M. Stadias Priscus, both

in Britain. Dio Cassius, the oldest recorder available, tells this story of the struggle:*

"A war was kindled, and that no small one, nor short lived. For the Jews, being sore angered that Aliens should be settled in their own city, and that foreign rites should be established in it, kept quiet indeed so long as Hadrian was in Egypt and again in Syria, except in so far as they of design wrought less fitly the weapons commanded of them by the Romans, being themselves denied by the Romans leave to carry arms. But when Hadrian was far away, they rebelled openly.

"Now they dared not face the Romans in pitched battle. But, seizing suitable places throughout their land, they fortified these with underground passages and walls, as places of refuge into which to flee when they were hard pressed and to have secret intercourse with one another, and they pierced holes in these passages for air and light.

"At first the Romans held them of no account. But when now the whole of Judæa was disturbed, and the Jews everywhere in every land were likewise troubled and conspired with the rebels and wrought much hurt to the Romans, both in secret and openly, (many others also of alien folk joining with them for the sake of gain), and the whole world was moved thereat, then at last Hadrian sent against them his best generals of whom Julius Severus was foremost in command, being called from Britain of which he was governor.

"But Severus risked not giving open battle against the enemy in any place, seeing their numbers and their fury. Therefore, cutting them off piecemeal by flying columns of greater strength under commanders of lower ranks, intercepting also and depriving them of supplies, he was able by this method, a slower one indeed, yet one less perilous, to wear them down and so to crush them utterly. Very few in fact survived. Of their forts the fifty strongest were razed to the ground. Nine hundred and eighty-five of their best-known villages were destroyed. Fifty-eight myriads of men were slaughtered in skirmish and in battle. Of those who perished by famine and disease there is no one can count the number.

"Thus the whole of Judæa became desert, as indeed had been

* In the third of the Schweich Lectures of 1922 the late Israel Abrahams ("Campaigns in Palestine from Alexander the Great," London, 1927) belittles Dio Cassius' record of this war, and repeats the suggestion that the Jews were influenced by Hadrian's "consent to the rebuilding of the Temple." This rebuilding myth, depending upon the alleged visit of Hadrian to Palestine on the death of Trajan, has been fully dealt with by Henderson in his biography of Hadrian. All the dimensions of the war, its gravity, and its duration, are fully attested by the inscriptions relating to the legions and by the honors distributed at the end of the campaign. The archeological records, carefully analyzed, support Dio Cassius and not his would-be corrector.

foretold to the Jews before the war. For the tomb of Solomon, whom these folk celebrate in their sacred rites, fell of its own accord into fragments, and wolves and hyenas, many in number, roamed howling through their cities.

"Many also of the Romans were slain in the war.* Wherefore Hadrian, writing to the Senate, would not use the Emperor's wonted opening form of words, 'I and the army are well.'"¹⁵

V

For full two years, till 134, Bar Kokba held control of Palestine. Severus had to fight pitched battles for the possession of the fortresses which Bar Kokba had strategically restored at Cabul to the west of Acre, at Sichin near Sepphoris, and at Magdala. He added a fortress at Tur Simon, where, according to a legend, one hundred thousand men were killed. After these three strongholds fell, and Har Hamalek was in Roman hands, a great battle was fought at Rimmon. In all from fifty-four to sixty engagements were fought before Severus let his troops advance on Bither, the great fortress Bar Kokba had erected below Jerusalem and which held out to the last.

Jerusalem, with two walls wholly demolished and with half the city still in ruins, could not serve as a military stronghold. Hence Bar Kokba selected Bither (Bettir), seven miles south of the capital, on an elevation commanding the main roads of Palestine. "On a rocky platform, on the very top of the hill, is the 'Khirbet el Yahud,' the 'Ruin of the Jews' and the shattered pedestal of an ancient monument, probably a 'tropaeum' erected by Hadrian to commemorate his victory."¹⁶ Nearby is a badly worn inscription, on a marble base one meter in length

IMP. CAES. TRIANO

HADRIANO AUG.

P.P. LEG X FRET CON I

with the figure of a nude man holding a trident in his right hand and a fish in the left. On one side is a female figure

* Confirmed by the earlier and contemporary account of Fronto, ed. Naber, p. 218.

enmeshed, emblem of that legion,¹⁷ which helped destroy the Jewish host. These are all the local evidences of that two-year siege which made history.

Bither's defense is told in pathetic rabbinic legends. It was here that Eleazer of Modin was killed by a hasty blow from Bar Kokba, who suspected treachery. The fortress fell, it is alleged, because the defense was betrayed by a Samaritan.* Bar Kokba was killed in one of the final sorties. "Horses were said to wade to the muzzle in blood—a river of blood flowed to the distant sea, carrying bodies with it."

Six of the famous legions, including the Tenth (Fretensis), Second (Trajana), Third (Gallica), Fourth (Scythica), all Syrian troops, had been called to the war, and the reputation of Caius Publius Marcellus, who marched at their head, destroyed. A medallion shows that Bar Kokba controlled a Jewish pirate fleet, for Sextus Cornelius Dexter, prefect of the Syrian fleet, was signally honored by Hadrian, *ob bellum Judaicum*. It had been the Jewish war. As Dio Cassius relates, the usual medal of triumph was omitted. The coin struck by the Senate reads: "*Exertus Judaicus*. Thanks to the army victorious over the Jews."

VI

Stragglers held out in Tiberias for some time. But there, and at Emmaus, military stations were established, as well as at Kephars Lekitha, and at Bethel. Jericho was destroyed, and Bethlehem devastated. A statue to Jupiter was erected there, and a grove planted in honor of Adonis. Palestine was laid waste; the towns and villages destroyed: "the land was literally converted into a desert." All warriors were slain. The prisoners were "sold for slaves under the terebinth of Abraham at Hebron or at Gaza which hence received the name of

* The Samaritan Chronicle, or Book of Joshua, fully admits this action. Chapter xlvii., devoted to events in the reign of Hadrian, places the action in Jerusalem, and relates how two brothers, Agrim and Manashshik, "wrote a note and worked it up in clay and threw it from above the wall to Adrianus the King," suggesting how the Romans could block up the secret entries to the city. This statement of the Samaritan Chronicle has passed into a legend in Jerusalem causing ignorant guides to suggest to visitors that the so-called "stables of Solomon" are the entrances of secret tunnels leading to Jericho and Bethlehem.

Hadrian's mart, while many others were transported to the slave markets of Egypt, and thence dispersed throughout the world." The Paschal Chronicle says "captives were sold in such large numbers . . . that a Jewish slave cost as little as a horse."

In explanation of the costly campaign waged by Titus, Tacitus wrote, "the anger of Rome was intensified by the remembrance that the Jews alone had not submitted to her sway." In Hadrian's policy there is evident a sort of sullen vengeance. The millstones of Roman rule were so set as to grind both land and people small. Upon the individual Jews a heavier poll tax was levied. But the greater action was the metaphorical turning of the plough on Jerusalem. Its name was changed, and for two centuries the once famed Jewish metropolis was the obscure Roman *Ælia Capitolina*. Procopius as late as 540, and 'Omar too, nearly a century later, though both added the older Jewish name, used that designation. The Jews were forbidden to set foot in *Ælia Capitolina* except on one fixed day in the year, when "they might look on the city but with their eyes afar off."¹²

The Christians did not come under this ban. They could not, however, have rejoiced at the theaters, baths, and two temples, one to Jupiter on the site of Herod's temple, and the other, according to church history, dedicated to Venus and erected on the site of the Sepulchre. A poor tradition assigns the direction of this work to Aquila of Sinope who having become a Christian next became a Jew and translated the Hebrew Scriptures into Greek.

Tineius Rufus (whom old Hebrew records call Turnus Rufus) ploughed up the old city and built on its ruins, *Colonia Ælia Capitolina*, as it was named in 135. Its planning involved the relocation of boundaries, and its design was Greek. In it Hadrian had a column * and an arch which still commemorates the defeat of Bar Kokba.† Over the South Gate there was a

* Two inscriptions to Hadrian, one probably congratulating him on the building of the city, have been found in Jerusalem, and are mentioned by Peter Thomsen in his "Lateinischen und Griechischen Inschriften der Stadt Jerusalem."

† The arch known as the Ecce Homo Arch. See: Western Survey, p. 295.

bas-relief of a swine's head—to keep the Jews at a safe distance. Phœnician and Syrian soldiers formed the first colony. But the new city did not prosper, and the garrison was doubled. Hadrian's temple at Cæsarea proclaims Flavius Euelpidius as its builder. He may well have been the architect of Ælia Capitolina.*

A great temple to Zeus was erected on Gerizim; Jericho too was rebuilt; and at Gaza, the emperor instituted his great sports, "Hadrian's games," in which, after captives had torn each other to pieces in the arena, oratorical and poetic contests were held. These latter became an institution in Gaza, and survived for centuries. Nor were these the limits of Hadrian's vindictive policy. As a measure of additional safety he thought of dividing Palestine from north to south, and adding the coastal towns to Syria—Gabinus' old policy which was re-introduced a century later. Hadrian, however, abandoned this administrative plan for one more bitter and galling to the Jews. Palestine ceased as a separate entity on the Roman records. Its identity was merged into "Syria Palestina."

Satiated with victory Hadrian returned to Rome, where now for the first time he accepted the great title of "Imperator II." The Senate voted him a monument "for his deliverance of the empire from a redoubtable enemy."¹⁹ No greater tribute could have been paid to obscure Bar Kokba than this. The shower of honors, medals, and titles awarded the officers eloquently attest how precious was victory, how great the stake involved. Severus "imperial legate of the province of Britain, the province of Judea, the province of Syria was awarded the ornaments of triumph for his good finish of the affairs of the Jews." Other records read no less resounding, if more briefly worded.

One privilege, that of wearing their distinctive garb, remained with the Jews. Pagans become Christians, like Justin

* The Samaritan Chronicle claims that Hadrian built a town on Mount Gerizim "after the name of his father" and destroyed a good deal of Nablus, and set up there three images after his likeness in the city on the top of pillars—also two images on the aqueduct and enlarged Petra which received the name Hadriana. In response "the Samaritans came together and purified the places wherein Adrinus had been."

Martyr, who was a native of Shechem, could still attire themselves in the philosopher's robe, a square or oblong blanket from which robe the monastic gown derives. Even the Jewish dead were not forgotten by the incensed overlord. They were ordered left unburied, to deepen the horror of the living and to check their further craving for rebellion. Little wonder that the few broken leaders who struggled into Lydda admitted defeat and named their experience the "final war." At Lydda, in the garret of one Nitsa, was adopted the historic resolution that when martyrdom was the only alternative, all the religious laws, excepting three (those relating to adultery, incest, and murder), might be transgressed.

VII

Returning from Pella (Fahil), their old hiding place, the neo-Christians, who had been persecuted under Trajan and suffered under Hadrian, made their way to Jerusalem and proceeded to separate themselves from the body of the Jews. They accomplished their denationalization by abolishing circumcision and by electing for the first time a Gentile, one Marcus, Bishop of Jerusalem.²⁰ The first fifteen bishops of Jerusalem were all circumcised Jews. The congregation over which they presided united the laws of Moses with the doctrine of Jesus.²¹ By the sacrifice of Mosaism the Christians obtained the right of free admission to Hadrian's new colony. The Jewish element in the Christian community resisted these changes. Two Judaizing sects arose, one held the Mosaic laws as obligatory and of universal application; the other limited the practice of the old code to themselves. The Nazarenes, derisively called Ebionites, thus became the heretics, and the pagan Christians established their right to be regarded as the orthodox church. These schisms not only influenced church politics; some of the theories then propounded have survived to this day and are basic to the differences between the followers of the eastern rites and the western churches. But though ruled from the Canacle, the see of Jerusalem for several centuries remained a subordinate factor in the church.

VIII

On the death of Hadrian, a victim of wasting disease,* there was ushered in "the golden age of the Antonines." The first, he who was surnamed "Pius," was Titus Aurelius Antoninus (138-161). On the petition of a deputation he permitted the burial of the corpses, still exposed from the Bar Kokba war, and revoked some of Hadrian's severe restrictions. The Jews were prohibited from accepting proselytes; entrance to Jerusalem was denied them, on pain of death. These mercies apparently appealed, for fugitive leaders returned immediately to Palestine and re-organized in Usha. Returning refugees re-founded communities in Galilee and in the south of Judea. Trans-Jordan was held under strict military control. A number of its temples, dating from this reign, indicate the influx of Romans into this territory.

To head off the disturbances in Syria the emperor visited Antioch in 154. He is reported to have built baths in Cæsarea in 157, but there is no reference to his presence in Palestine.† Capitolinus refers to a Jewish revolt in 161, though the references in Justin Martyr, adduced in support of this, reflect the Bar Kokba war rather than a more recent experience. The Jewish participation in the Parthian rising is almost of the same dating, but Graetz accepts the theory of a Jewish revolt responding to the prohibition of circumcision. Legion movements in Palestine are indicated in some records, but the Jewish historian claims that peace was restored by allowing the Jews to observe their ancient practices. Antoninus Pius did repress Judaism, probably because regarding himself as *Maiestates* he considered himself a proper object for worship. This phase of paganism, as we have seen, played a part in the Jewish opposition to Pontius Pilate, and also influenced "Julian

* The Samaritan Chronicle reports Hadrian's death thus: "And after this Adrinus died—may God have no mercy upon him—and he died in woe and every kind of affliction and his reign had lasted twenty-one years—may God crush his bones." The reason for this cursing was the destruction of the Samaritan liturgical library—the Book of Choice Selections, Songs, Praises, Hymns, the Book of the Imanns and the Annals, from Phineas onward.

† An inscription relating to him has been found in Jerusalem. Peter Thomsen, *Die Lateinischen und Griechischen Inschriften der Stadt Jerusalem*, Leipzig, 1922.

the Apostate," later. Though Antoninus Pius treated the Christians with gentleness, they were to be left in peace, "unless they appeared to make attempts against the government,"²² he forbade Gentiles, on pain of death, to participate in Jewish worship.²³

The "glory of the Antonines" did not make itself visible in Palestine, except perhaps at Gaza, which flourished commercially. Life was crude and poor. Only the most elementary sanitary precautions existed, and these were directed against the spread of definitely infectious diseases. Such efforts, as interest us, are met in the coastal towns primarily. Three men present the varying streams of contemplative life which was all the poor land could for a season sustain. The pagan, Marinus (160-190), was freely permitted to study geography and mathematics in Tyre. According to Ptolemy he was the first scientific geographer, and his maps, as the areas of land and sea were conceived in his day, were mathematically constructed, according to latitude and longitude.²⁴ Simon ben Jochai, the presumed founder of Jewish mysticism, dwelt at Sidon, and his tomb, one of the few accepted sites of that era, is at Merom. He was a rebel hating Rome, and evidently was keen to participate in the pro-Parthian movement. In danger of arrest he spent years in a cave on Carmel. The third personality was that of Justin, who became the "Martyr" because he refused to bow to heathen gods. He was executed for heresy about 165.

The persecution of the Christians was a factor in the reign of the greatest of the Antonines, Marcus Aurelius. He had been co-emperor with Pius, and on his death Aurelius associated with himself Verus, a typically dissolute monarch who shed no luster on the joint reign. Both monarchs visited Palestine. Of Verus it is related that he persecuted the Palestineans, but built towns with market places and baths, and bridges for which the people had to pay tolls. He is also credited with having "organized prostitution" and colonized the port towns with Algerian troops.²⁵ Palestine, which by now was enmeshed in the social and political fortunes of the empire, was, as Marcus Aurelius' few references to the people

show, still Jewish; and its Christians were unlike those developing in the west. "The old Mosaic usages were incorporated in Christianity, and by many converts an ascetic life was thought important."²⁶

The last-mentioned ideas were most distinctly not to the taste of Verus. He came to Syria, in command of an army which was to fight Vologeses III., an aggressive Parthian prince, who from 149 had prepared for the invasion of the country. Defeating Atidius Cornelianus, then governor of Syria, the Parthians, who were bowmen on horseback, penetrated the country. Rabbinic references suggest that the invaders had the sympathy of the Syrians and the Palestineans. A vague reference hints that the Palestinean Jews rose in support of the invaders, but the contemporary accounts of the war have been most completely lost. Marcus Aurelius' comment on his Syrian legions is an adequate arraignment of the voluptuous life of the period. He informed Avidius Cassius, who took the real command, that he had to train men "all reeking with perspiration from the baths." The Parthians being defeated, Avidius Cassius was made governor of all Asia. Honors went to the head of this excellent soldier, and, as a native of Syria, he found it fairly easy to proclaim himself, in 175, the nominated successor of Aurelius, who however was alive. Cassius, according to some, had the support of Aurelius' wife, Faustina, and of the military caste in Egypt. His rebellion however lasted only some three months, and he was obligingly despatched by the hand of one of his centurions, and his head offered on a charger to the Emperor.

The philosophic monarch bore the Jews no more love than he did the Christians. In his charge to the picked legions, gathered to put down Cassius' rebellion, he spurred them with the thought: "The Cilicians, the Syrians, the Jews, and the Egyptians, have never proved your equals." After listening in Palestine to the plea of the Jews for the reduction of taxes, he wrote: "At last I have discovered a people more restless than the Marcomanni, the Quadi, or the Samarti."²⁷ The Marcomanni had given him much more trouble; but Aurelius neatly collected in this description all those who resisted engulfment

by the imperial policy. His permission to Rabbi Ishmael ben Jose to visit the ruins of Jerusalem—a great favor, seeing that the Christians who persevered in their Jewish ways were not allowed by Hadrian to approach the city,”²⁸—is no doubt the source of all the emperor’s alleged discrimination in favor of Jewish Palestinian subjects. An additional tax, the “aurum coranarium” was put on them, but the border cities of Judea were filling with Greeks and Romans; the little Jewish world was living as austere a life as the Palestinian Christians. The Patriarch Judah I. managed to feed the hungry and the stricken during the plague and famine that raged throughout the empire at the beginning of Aurelius’ reign. Judah’s benevolence has been magnified into great wealth, but his record is not that of a Croesus but of the less costly and more permanent compilation of the Mishnah, and the mitigation of the laws relating to the Year of Release, and of tithes which still weighed heavily on the Jewish farming population.

Marcus Aurelius bequeathed to Rome his son, Commodus (180-192), perhaps the vilest of all those who ever ruled the empire. Palestine, however, knew nothing of him. A Trans-Jordanian inscription, dated 193, mistakenly boasts, after a list of his high-sounding titles, that Pertinax, the next emperor, “was born to conquer.” In reality his reign was brief and futile. But after him there followed in Rome a chaos such as leaves the darkest pages of old Palestinian history white by comparison.

IX

Pertinax being dead, “the more prudent of the Prætorians . . . ran out upon the ramparts and in a loud voice proclaimed that the Roman world was for sale by public auction.”²⁹ Didius Julianus bought the prize-bargain by paying each soldier of the guard a thousand dollars. The Prætorians, however, were not the only soldiers who felt they had the empire in their keeping and could offer it on the block. The Syrian army preferring their Governor, Pescennius Niger, rose in revolt. Septimius Severus, of African birth, and his wife, Julia Domna (Martha), a native of Emesa, too had claims upon the Eastern

provinces. A third claimant to the throne, Clodius Albinus, was readily disposed of. This bloody election campaign by the two foremost rivals was fought out on a wide battle field. Niger, without waiting for Severus' challenge, attempted to consolidate his position by over-running Palestine, where he did considerable slaughter. Whether the population turned against him because of his ruthlessness, or his attacks were due to their lack of sympathy for his candidature, is not clear. Tyre sided with Severus, who coming from Rome overland, defeated Niger at Issus in 195, and then conducted "a glorious campaign in the east," and having assured his title to the colonies he was awarded "a Jewish triumph" by the Senate for the success he obtained over the Palestineans who sided with Niger.³⁰ As reward for its support, Tyre was settled by the Third Legion, and awarded the *jus Italicum*. On the other hand, the Samaritans, of Nablus, were treated harshly by the conqueror, and their city lost its municipal standing.

A few years later Severus returned to Palestine, and, having fought the Arabs, he instituted a number of reforms. He rebuilt Lydda, renovated the Herodian temple at Samaria and a number of the Trans-Jordan cities, which were well populated, but suffering from the ravages of war. Perhaps as a tribute to his Syrian Empress, Julia Domna, who with her two sons, Caracalla and Geta, spent some time in Palestine,³¹ Severus abolished many of the Roman place-names in vogue and brought back the old Hebrew designations. Probably the missionary efforts of both the Jews and Christians annoyed him, for he extended the law punishing conversion, and prohibited heathens accepting any other faith.

Despite his military prowess, Septimius Severus could not successfully police Palestine. Marauding gangs of freebooters over-ran the country, and the dwindling scope of public life is exhibited in the Rabbinic squabbles over the rights and wrongs of betraying highwaymen, who included Jews, to the Roman officials.³² The Christians in 193 finally broke all contact with Judaism by separating the observance of Easter from Passover.

Severus' son, Caracalla, was of Syrian lineage and therefore understood the "provinces" better than most of his predeces-

sors. He started his reign (211-217) by murdering his brother Geta, and, from this vantage point, established a record for blackguardism and ruffianly conduct. His mother, Julia Domna, cultured, brilliant, and Syrian, did her best to save the state from the worst of her son's infamies. But the black passions of Caracalla's soul vented themselves on his native land where he spent most of his life as ruler. Every Eastern city was the scene of his rapine and cruelty."³

Though his motive was avarice, Caracalla pleased the Palestineans by drawing up a code which bestowed Roman citizenship on all those of his free subjects who were not citizens. The non-citizens had one advantage, their releases and heritages were not taxed, as were those of citizens. By creating the *dediticii* class, Caracalla did not free the Palestineans from paying tribute, but they hailed, as a social and political advantage, the status that forced them to pay the higher estate taxes.

The incident is however of considerable interest. It brings into relief the fact that one hundred and forty years after the Jewish State had ceased to function, agriculture was still the dominant Jewish vocation in Palestine, and the old Mosaic law, relating to the Year of Release, was still in operation. Julius Cæsar had relieved the Jews from paying the produce tax, destined for the standing army, in the year when the land was allowed to lie fallow. Caracalla's increased taxation forced the Rabbis to permit the cultivation of the soil, in the Release Year. By this dispensation, in the year 216, the old land law was finally abrogated."⁴ Yet long after, men counted Jewish dates by the Years of Release, so engrained was custom and tradition.

Both Caracalla, who was murdered in 217, and his cousin or son—the imperial relationships are none too clear—Elagabalus, were mad. The latter went to the length of setting himself up as priest of the sun god. There was this method in both their vagaries; they attempted to Syrianize the empire, and to make Rome, at least in worship, subordinate itself to the new deity. The sun priest emperor excited the Palestineans for his propaganda undertook to give freedom of faith

and worship to Christians, Jews, and Samaritans, provided they would admit that all faiths were subordinate to his chosen deity. Rome was tolerant to this extension of the pantheon, but all three creeds, in Palestine, remained stubborn in their opposition.

X

The East breathed more freely, and enjoyed even a spell of real peace during the reign of Alexander Severus (222-235), another Cæsar of Syrian birth. He was raised to the purple, when only 17, by the most capable body of electors ever devised, the Prætorian guard. His predilections brought him the nickname of Archisynagogus, or rabbi. He flirted with the Jews, and his mother, Julia Mammæ, protected the great church father, Origen. This catholicity was even exhibited in the imperial palace, where pictures of Orpheus, Jesus, and Abraham, hung side by side.

This imperial sympathy had practical expression. During his campaign with the Persians (231-234), the emperor abolished Hadrian's law forbidding the Jews to enter Jerusalem. To this favor he added permission to hold minor offices and to own houses. A new alignment was effected between all elements of the population. Jews, Christians, and heathens met on common ground, at the gladiatorial games. The Jews were beginning to speak Greek and to decorate their homes with pictures. But the peace of Alexander Severus' reign did not relieve the Jews of the pressure of what had become a new experience, poverty. Their cherished lands were passing into heathen hands; the self-imposed tithe could not meet the Patriarchs' need. It was at this time, therefore, that Jewish Palestine sent forth to the diaspora the first of its untold multitude of appeals for financial aid. So near to the edge of existence were the Palestineans that, when a drought was added to the grinding taxes, economic need forced a voluntary migration to Babylon.

Two other incidents show the decline of Jewish fortune. Sepphoris shrank as the cultural center and gave way to humid Tiberias which for a thousand years thereafter, but with gradu-

ally diminishing glory, remained the rabbinic center of Palestine. The economic decline was due to the destruction of the olive yards of Galilee. In Herodian days the grey-green trees had produced sufficient oil to make the whole country self-sustaining. Titus cut them down. In the Bar Kokba war the replantings had gone down, like corn before a sickle. Instead of exporting, Galilee now had to import olive oil; the Patriarch Simlai, recognizing the changed conditions, removed an old interdict against the use of imported oil.

Christendom, in Palestine, was however strengthened in this reign by the coming of Origen, "the iron man" of the early church. On his settlement in Jerusalem he gave lectures to the Bishops, and, in 228, he was made presbyter in Cæsarea, which led in all things. He was so abstemious that he lived on eight cents a day, derived from a life interest to that amount for which he sold all his possessions. A schism followed Origen's appointment, and in 232, though the Palestineans sided with him, he was excommunicated. Epiphanius and Rufinus claim that Origen, who died in Tyre, in 254, wrote no less than six thousand works. Eusebius relates that Origen was aided in his great literary labors by seven secretaries, seven copyists, and some girl assistants. Of the product of this great literary factory in commercial Tyre there remains considerable. But Origen's reputation rests—and he was the church's first great scholar—on the Hexapla edition of the Old Testament which he appropriately composed in Palestine. During this period the first reference is made to an organized library in Jerusalem. It was established by the Bishop of Alexandria.³⁵

The "beginning of the end of the Roman empire" was ushered, in 235, by the assassination of Alexander Severus. During half a century the throne was occupied, or seized, by nearly twenty emperors and usurpers. Their brief periods of authority overlap each other; of them all little more is remembered than the meaningless procession of their names. Maximin the Thracian, Maximus, Balbinus, Gordianus the African, and his two sons, all obscure to posterity except for the chaos they embody. Philip "the Arabian" should appeal. He was in reality a Palestinian, being born at Basra, and crowned emperor

at Orman, in Trans-Jordan, and as a reward he rebuilt that cis-Jordan town and named it Philippopolis. But he stands out only because he presided over the thousandth anniversary celebration of the founding of Rome (248), a great festival that found no repercussion in the "provinces."

Decius (249-51), according to Origen, who was in Tyre at the time, persecuted the Palestinian Christians. But it was left for Valerian (254-260) to hasten the Roman descent by starting a new Parthian adventure and by suffering the ignominy of being taken prisoner by Sapor, king of the Sassanides. Chaos followed, and, as though to epitomize the changes in progress, "*Ælia Capitolina*" disappeared, and Jerusalem was reinstated as the name of the city on the hills. And as though history had the gift of mockery, a Jewess, or an almost Jewess, became empress of the Orient and queen of Palestine.

XI

Gibbon following Pollio said: "Zenobia was esteemed the most lovely as well as the most heroic of her sex. She was of dark complexion. Her teeth were of a lovely pearly whiteness, and her large eyes sparkled with uncommon fire, tempered by the most attractive sweetness. Her voice was strong and harmonious."

"An undeniable oriental type, a calm majestic expression; on her forehead a diadem gathering a turbanlike headdress, its graceful folds touching her back; around her throat a costly necklace; her robe rich and worthy of an empress." So rhapsodised the writer of a philosophic dissertation concerning a statue found in Palmyra, and which the finder, an authority on orientalia, identified as a sculpture of Zenobia.*

Grace, beauty, and charm may be wished her; will force, determination, great ambition, appreciation for art and culture, were hers; an histrionic gift and considerable intellectual powers, history grants her. Her natal name was Septimia bath Zebinah. The Septimia was complimentary to Septimius

* The name was later fairly popular with women and has been found on the tombstones of ancient Kerak. Albright, *Bulletin Amer. School of Oriental Research*, 14 (1924), p. 2.

Severus, and implies nothing, though it suggested to old writers that she could claim some kinship to that emperor. All her husband's family however had the same premen.³⁶ Bath Zabbai, or Batzebinah, to use the Aramaic form in vogue in Palmyra, is distinctly Biblical, ergo Jewish, and the presence of Palmyrean Jews in Jerusalem at the time of the fall of the city is noted by Jewish scholars. A cautious modern investigator³⁷ translated two words on an inscription relating to her, and found in her magnificent capital, as "Jewess and Sadducean," a view supported by some of the old writers.

Away to the north of Syria, some five days' journey from the Euphrates, on the main road between the great city of Baghdad and the famous port of Tyre, Solomon founded Tadmor. Its foundation stones are of the same type of masonry as that of the Wailing Wall in Jerusalem. Tadmor became a great mart for the caravans from India and Persia. One Jewish king lost, and another regained possession of Tadmor. Then, though many of its monuments date from the early part of the second century, it disappeared until the middle of the third century when, in the disintegration of the Roman empire, Odænathus, whom the rabbis rightly called Papa ben Nasar—for his ancestral name is on his inscriptions—local chieftain, and of some rank in this same Tadmor, which the Greek administration of this Roman-ruled city called Palmyra, gradually rose to power. Out of his home city and its surroundings Odænathus carved himself a kingship. It was a center of great wealth and of the cult of the sun god. Great colonnades of graceful and stupendously high columns replaced the original groves of palms. Aramaic and Greek were of equal value in a blended civilization that produced a people of sturdy independence. Aided by some Saracen mercenaries, Odænathus, in 251, took Basra, reached Kerak, plundered Syria and Palestine, and, swinging his army eastward, captured and destroyed Nahardea in Babylonia.

In appreciation of this campaign Gallienus, who succeeded Valerian, accredited Odænathus with the title of King of Palmyra. The new monarch thereupon proceeded to improve

his fortunes by defeating the Persians. Gallienus therefore promoted the Palmyrene to the office of co-emperor. His wife was Septimia bath Zabbai. She celebrated the family's acquirement of royal honors by indulging herself in the prenomens, Zenobia, and as Zenobia she is known in history. Odænathus did not enjoy his honors long, for he was killed. The inscription, set up by his two generals in 271, describe him as a "king of kings," whose demise was regretted by the entire community.⁸⁸

Zenobia appointed herself co-empress, and, acting as regent for her eldest son, Wahballath, she essayed a rôle that was to emulate, if not surpass, that of Cleopatra in the display of royal and oriental luxury. Gallienus wanted no co-empress, but he was helpless, for the troops he sent against her were defeated.

His successor, Claudius II., gave her more than a free hand in Palmyra. Such was the chaos of the period that when Probatius seized the crown and treasures of Egypt, the emperor called on his co-empress to oust the usurper. Her chief generals and admirers, Septimius Zabda and Zabbai, led an army of seventy thousand men across Palestine into Egypt and quickly disposed of the rebel. Zenobia hastened from her mountain palace, passed through Palestine—we meet both her and her general in the records of Lydda, visited Egypt, and made mental note of the luxury she would copy, and returned home, Empress of the East and Queen of Palestine.

Some of the ruins that make the marvel of Palmyra are, as the inscriptions deciphered indicate, the remains of the wonderful temples and palaces erected in Zenobia's period. The records of her age were not impartial; they reflect the partisan feelings of strict Jews and of doctrinaire Christians. Her proposed syncretic religion must have enjoyed some favor, for it brought her memory much hatred. Paul of Samosata, Bishop of Antioch, influenced her. He was an anti-Trinitarian who believed that Jesus was an ordinary human being divinely inspired through the "logos." He advocated circumcision and the Jewish ceremonial law. Worse still, he shocked the purists by introducing a female choir in his church. He had women

"blooming in age and eminent in beauty . . . with him wherever" he went.³⁹

This was agreeable to Zenobia who invited other neo-Platonists to her court and, guided by their theories, urged the acceptance of a religious synthesis, part Pagan, part Jewish, and part Christian. The inscription over the ruins of the great synagogue of Palmyra, affirming the Unity of God in the Deuteronomic form, reads like a protest against her cult. In the crisis that developed from her ostentatious vanity, neither the Jews nor the Christians supported her. Not satisfied with the substance of power she offended Aurelian, who succeeded Claudius, by naming herself *Augusta Sebaste* on her coins, adding her son's name, Wahballath, as *Dux Romanum*, on some of them. To Aurelian, "Restorer of the Roman Empire," this token of majesty, on the part of Zenobia, threatened that dismemberment of the empire which he vigorously opposed. He led an army against her. After varying fortunes Zenobia took her last stand in her native city.

Palmyra capitulated in 273. Stripped of the power it had acquired, Palmyra lost in one day the liberty and security which were the principal sources of her greatness. Her countrymen believed Zenobia committed suicide. Roman historians report that she was taken captive. "Decked in jewels and held by a chain of gold," she was the leading figure in the triumphal procession in which Aurelian subsequently marched through the applauding throngs in the streets of Rome.⁴⁰

XII

Zenobia's bizarre reign resulted in a permanent change in Roman policies. Emperors came more frequently to the trouble-breeding eastern provinces. Diocletian (Jovius), at the beginning of his reign (284-304), evolved the policy, subsequently standardized, of dividing the empire of the east and the empire of the west between separate Augusti, and assistant cæsars. "A remarkable revival in the authority of Rome in the East" followed, with its double hierarchy of civil and military officials, "a system owing more to the despotic traditions of Asia than to any European methods. . . . The security of

the times rendered Syria, which was, unlike most of the West, well guarded against barbarian inroads, a great center for trade and agriculture." ⁴¹

One method of accomplishing this has had a fairly permanent influence on the political geography and on the racial ascriptions of the country. In 295 the districts of Auranitis and Gaulonitis, the part of Hauran directly east of Lake Tiberias, were separated from Syria and added to what was then described as Arabia. The milestones uncovered by archeologists confirm the close watch maintained during these reigns over the eastern border. ⁴²

Palestine, lost in the mazes of the new bureaucracy, and storm-tossed in the labyrinthine struggles of would-be cæsars emerged, in the last year of Diocletian, by the inauguration of an intense persecution of the eastern Christians. Diocletian spent some time in Palestine, for he is reported to have held court at Banias, probably in the palace at Cæsarea Philippi, and is credited with having built a town, Diocletianopolis. ⁴³

Angered by the failure of his augurs to prophesy, which they alleged was due to the presence of unsympathetic Christians, Diocletian, after twenty years of tolerance, together with his co-emperor, Maximianus, a rude, bold soldier, in 303 set a limit to the spread of Christianity. Maximianus was anxious to reclaim the country for paganism. Restriction soon turned to persecution. Maximianus, as Eusebius relates, presided at Cæsarea over bloody spectacles. "Ingenuity was exhausted in devising new forms of torture for men. For women there was always the ready punishment of outrage and indignity."

Chapels were thrown down, Scriptures burnt, and priests degraded. A great company of bishops, priests and laymen were imprisoned. The inhabitants of Cæsarea, Tyre, Gaza, Ascalon, and Beisan fought pitched battles with the soldiery. Pamphilius was the most celebrated of the martyrs. Many victims were exiled to the copper mines at Phæno, near Petra. After Diocletian abdicated, Maximianus continued the persecutions for a decade after Valerius' death. During this period the "Synagogue of the Revolution" in Cæsarea made its greatest reputation—evidence that the Jews did not escape oppression.

Interspaced between dynastic wars, in which the imperial robes became crimson and in the course of which Rome witnessed its last triumph—that over the Persians—there runs another story. Towards the end of the third century Palestine was becoming more holy in death than in life to the Jews. The living were moving towards Babylon, now the cultural font of Judaism, and only the corpses of scholars were brought to Palestine. So much land had fallen into heathen possession that whole districts were, perforce, relieved of the tithes and voluntary taxes.

Christianity on the other hand slowly, but persistently, was making her way to that ascendancy which she gained a century later.

The country was however well populated by alien elements.* Greek towns and villages had sprung up, particularly in the hitherto neglected southland. What Josephus had once written of Galilee, that not a foot went unmanured, could now be postulated of the Negeb. Every valley south of Beersheba and the Dead Sea was cultivated, and every little wadi was terraced with stone walls that retained the scanty soil and broke the force of occasional floods. The bare hills were planted with grapevines, and olive yards flourished in these southern foothills. Catchments ran along the hillsides and led the rainwater to cisterns and water pits.

Commercially, Tyre was in the lead with its exports of purple dye. The industry was so important that the office of supervisor was in the gift of the crown. The official, to meet the lingual usages of the port population, had to be "learned in Greek and Hebrew." Gaza at that period had thirty thousand inhabitants, whose chief industry was winding, and re-winding, the silks that came from China by way of Aqaba.

Less than half a century later we find "merchant companies" operating in the Hauran, building cities, and erecting temples, and so bringing prosperity to what is now the great wasteland of eastern Palestine. Cæsarea was manufacturing veils; the imports covered all sorts of luxuries, including vessels of gold and metal mirrors. India exchanged its fine linen for the

* The value of a farm of 39 acres was \$1,500.—Eusebius, *Eccl. Hist.*, III, 19.

rose-oil of Jerusalem. A catalogue of the current industries reads like an alphabet of agricultural and country-town pursuits. An exception is laundry, which then ranked as an industrial occupation. Perhaps, owing to the large number of Roman soldiers maintained in garrison or settled in the country, and who came from Italy, Gaul, Saxony, and Greece, with Arab and African auxiliaries, the list of cultivated products had widened considerably. We read of rice, citrons, peaches, quinces, mulberries, walnuts, and chestnuts. Even as to-day, the fields were protected by thorn hedges. The farmers knew how to force the ripening of fruit by artificial means, and manufactured chemical manure by grinding into fine powder the gypsum found in large quantities in Palestine. Only one drought in several centuries was sufficiently serious to be noted in the records.

Slavery was still practiced, though polygamy was in disfavor, both among Jews and Christians. Owing to the increase of the Greek settlers paganism had gained considerable vogue. Zeus Keraunios, Zeus Kassios, Kronos, Athene Gozmeus, Tyche, etc., were their gods. The native Arabs accepted Marne of Gaza, Aume, and Aziz, besides their own ancient baalim. Long after Christianity had been recognized as the official religion, paganism had great vogue in southern Palestine.⁴⁴

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CHAPTER III

THE ADVANCE OF THE CROSS—305 TO 395

THE Church gathered strength, while six men, of whom Valerius, Licinius and Maximianus, in the eastern provinces, waged war for possession of the crown. By the death of his opponents, Licinius, in 313, became cæsar of the East, and co-emperor with Constantine, "The Great." That same year, the Edict of Toleration, issued at Milan, brought the church for the first time to a position of equality with Judaism and paganism. Henceforth Christianity was a *religio licite*, and its church a recognized society. This advance was wholly overshadowed in 325, when the Council of Nicæa, recognized Christianity as the state religion, and officially displaced paganism.

The Edict of Milan, easing the relationship of all peoples in the empire, was in Palestine almost immediately followed by the arrival of an advance guard of monks and anchorites from Egypt and Libya. Paul of Thebes, retiring to the Egyptian desert, about 250, created a vogue, which in habits, costumes, and strict austerities, was diligently copied throughout the world. The Wilderness of the Jordan and the Desert of the Wanderings, appealed to the recluses and anchorites, who by their settlement helped in the ready spread of the new concept of "Holy Land." *

* The hermits seldom lived in absolute solitude. "Laura" was a term that implied a small monastic community, the members of which lived in separate cells clustering around a chapel. A. Wallis Budge, in "The Paradise or Garden of the Holy Fathers" (London, 1907), detailing, from ancient MSS., the history of the anchorites, recluses, monks, co-eionites and ascetic fathers of the deserts of Egypt, during the centuries under review, affords a graphic picture of their way of thinking and living. Emotionally they were responsible for the spread of much mysticism. Their asceticism and self-torture took a thousand forms. Some of them boasted that they had not washed in twenty years; abstinence from meat or cooked food of any kind was a favorite penance. One of the most holy of these men "sat in the desert naked for six months, where the gnats were large and resembled wasps . . . at the end of this time

This immigration was, however, merely a prelude to the politico-religious convulsion introduced by Constantine after he became sole emperor (325-337). By moving his capital to Byzantium he changed the orientation of his world, and brought Jerusalem into a new alignment. Till a year before his death Constantine remained officially a pagan; therefore his remarkable policy, which led him to preside at the Nicæa Council, oppose the Arian heresy, and to advance Jerusalem to a pivotal position in Christianity, must be ascribed to imperial politics rather than to religious convictions.

Gibbon pictures the imperial maker of religious destinies: "Illustrious and imperial convert, stained with the blood of his father-in-law, whom he strangled with his own hands; of his son whom he sacrificed at the lying representations of his wife; and of that wife herself, whom he executed in revenge for the death of his son." Constantine had made Helena's son his heir, and the son made his mother *Augusta*. Empress mother and Emperor together stamped the Christian faith on the world; made Jerusalem the axis of Christendom, and Palestine a Christian land.

Politically, the act was a complete reversion of Roman policy. The Romans had either feared Jerusalem politically or disliked it geographically. From the moment they obtained a firm grip on the country they had made Cæsarea the capital, and although much trade had perforce to pass through Jerusalem, their road system was so designed that it centered upon Eleutheropolis (once Betogabra and now Beit Jibrin), a town founded by Septimius Severus, the public baths of which appealed to the inhabitants of Lydda, but which, after the Arab conquest, was so obscured that until Robinson definitely located it, in 1837, was regarded as a sort of geographic myth.

Hadrian's *Ælia Capitolina* was not a commercial success,

his skin was so bitten and swollen that it was like the hide of an elephant." Few of them remained steadily in one place for a great length of time, their whereabouts were well advertised, and the pious pilgrims went visiting from retreat to retreat. No doubt this explains why these recluses were able to play so important a rôle in contemporary history. Of Hilarian of Tabatha, who created the hermit habit around Gaza, it is related that his measure of interference in local affairs included bringing Christian police from Azotus and Ascalon to suppress the pagans of Gaza.

but for the non-Jews it buried the name Jerusalem; while for the Christians "new Jerusalem" gradually became the symbol of heaven, rather than the cognomen of a city on earth.

Even Roman precision had left much of Titus' ruins, and Tineius Rufus' ploughing undisturbed. "Splendid monuments" of Queen Helen of Adiabene were still in Eusebius' days to be seen in the suburbs of Jerusalem.¹ Hadrian's town, in which Christians had established some churches, occupied only part of the old area. The movement of the population was persistently away from the ancient metropolis. The Greek immigrants, as we have seen, drifted to the southland and to Trans-Jordan. Sepphoris, "the largest and strongest city" in Galilee, and Tiberias were the important Jewish centers. Church records of importance relate to Cæsarea, Sidon, Tyre, and Gaza. Jerusalem, as a contemporary puts it, "was without honor and repute." Its see was subordinate to Cæsarea, and its bishop a suffragan.

"Two events of the greatest importance to the history of the world and the future of the Christian church—the building of Constantine's church and the Invention of the Cross by Helena"² changed Jerusalem, historically and even physically. Partly because she grieved for her grandson, Helena made her first pilgrimage to Jerusalem in 326-7. She was in her eightieth year, and for no virtue that is related of her earlier life, was "led by divine intimation" to discover the place of the Sepulchre, the three crosses lying side by side, and the scroll bearing the inscription credited to Pilate.

Eusebius, a contemporary, in his glowing account of this discovery links it with the theory that Aquila the heathen-Jewish-Christian had rebuilt Hadrian's heathen city. "This sacred cave certain impious and godless persons had thought to remove entirely from the eyes of men. Accordingly, they brought a quantity of earth from a distance with much labor, and covered the entire spot . . . paved with stone, concealing the holy cave beneath this massive mound." On it was erected "a gloomy shrine of lifeless idols to the impure spirit whom they call Venus." The Venus rites were far from "gloomy," perhaps because they were hilarious, they still found acceptance

long after this Temple to Venus, of which there is some evidence in the designs on coins, was pulled down. The words of Eusebius bear repetition, for they crystallized a judgment that prevailed for many centuries. "These engines of deceit were cast down from their proud eminence to the very ground, and the dwelling place of error was overthrown and utterly destroyed." Then the discovery: "Beneath the covering of earth appeared, immediately and contrary to all expectation, the veritable and hallowed monument of our Saviour's resurrection." *

The theological elements involved in the story are beyond the scope of this history. Besant dismisses the fact with a single sentence: "There is no evidence at all as to the genuineness of the site." ⁴ Robinson ⁵ regards cave and cross as part of this "age of pious fraud," and holds that no injustice is done to the then Bishop of Jerusalem, Macarius, and to his clergy, if the whole incident is regarded as a well-laid plan for restoring Jerusalem to its ancient position, and elevating the see "to a higher degree of influence and dignity." *

This view is fully borne out by the patient investigations of a French historian ⁷ who has been at great pains to decipher the Palestinian church record during the reign of the Greek emperors. He concludes that this most significant incident in world history was promoted by the ambition of Macarius, "a learned man, austere of greatly elevated spirit." The Arian controversy, which for a time split the Church, presented to the Bishop the opportunity for ranging the bishops into groups, on the policy of making the Jerusalem see superior to Cæsarea. When, says this author, Constantine had established peace in the church, the announcement was rushed from Jerusalem throughout the East that the mother of the Emperor, Helena, had arrived in Jerusalem to recover the Holy Sepulchre and the True Cross. "That happy event transformed the destiny of Jerusalem. . . . In a few years it was very rich and the most celebrated city in the orient; three great basilicas and many churches were erected . . . and the commerce of all nations, once each year, crowded its streets. But above all it became the natural refuge of all great unfortunates . . . so that Sabas

in a famous letter to the Emperor Anastasius described Jerusalem as the natural asylum and refuge of all the unhappy.”⁸

Constantine, in his letter to the Bishop, accepted the discovery of the site as somewhat miraculous and sent his architect, Eustathius, to erect on it a church in the most ornate Byzantine style. He honored Abraham's terebinth at Mamre in the same manner. Ten years were devoted to the erection of the basilica. A great council of the bishops from all parts of the empire, who first met at Tyre, and then in Jerusalem, participated in the great dedication ceremony in 335. The basilica stood in a spacious court, enclosed with porticoes on three sides, and paved with polished marble. The interior was as rich as gold could make it.⁹ This magnificent structure, soon afterwards destroyed, was prominent amid, what still were, the ruins of Jewish Jerusalem, and a squalor, which Macarius, as the emperor's representative, tried to alleviate, by distributing “vast quantities of money and a great number of garments among the indigent and the naked, and amongst an infinite multitude of poor of both sexes.”¹⁰

Macarius achieved his purpose, but the aggrandizement of the Jerusalem bishopric was, for the moment, lost in the mazes of the sectarian dissensions which resulted from the decisions of the Synod at Tyre. Palestine became the land of conflicting miracles, of the exploitation of relics, and the site of innumerable churches, chapels, and shrines. Neither the identity of the site, nor the circumstances attending the discovery, are of great historic importance. The world accepted these myths as true, and from them shaped a policy which was only displaced by another myth, that of El-Burak, which has forced another and equally lasting imprint on Palestine.

Eusebius, father of ecclesiastical history, born in Palestine about 254, and who became bishop of his native city in 315, was the greatest individual factor in bringing about this change in the relations of Palestine to the Christian world. After Origen he was the most learned of the church fathers, but unlike most of them he was deeply interested in the detailed geography as well as the history of Palestine. Thus he mentions in his *Onomasticon* no less than three hundred and seven

places which were inhabited in his day; six settled by Roman garrisons, ten, exclusively inhabited by Jews, and three wholly Christian villages.¹¹ Being a moderate in questions of doctrine, he was buffeted by both sides in the endless Arian and anti-Arian disputes which characterized the period. His chronicle of the reign of Constantine is his most valuable contribution to history. His *Demonstratio Evangelica*, in twenty books, became the type for argumentations with the Jews in favor of Christianity. In his *Ecclesiastical History* he was partisan, though he had the advantage of use of all the then known data. He rigorously suppressed all that did not contribute to the edification of the church. His voluminous writings include the book of the Palestinian Martyrs. He died about 340, having lived to see his ambition realized—his religion made supreme in his fatherland.

As the pilgrims, from the Palmer of Bordeaux (333) onward, multiplied, the interest in the fabulous increased, and both Christian and Jewish life was disfigured by gross superstitions, and even miracle contests. Faith depended not on works but on superior ability in performing miracles; excellent background for pillar saints and hermits who, like Hilarion of Gaza, occupied a cell in which he could neither stand erect, nor lie down at full length. Thus was developed that holiness "that never was on land or sea," and which did not mark the life of those who promulgated it in Palestine. Cyril, Bishop of Jerusalem, reported to the emperor an astounding miracle of the luminous cross of May 1, 351. Even this incident, alleged to have been witnessed by thousands in broad daylight, neither stayed religious wrangling, nor improved the morals of the community.

Constantine's grant of religious liberty, and the right "likewise to the Christians, and to all, of the free choice to follow that mode of worship which they may wish, that whatsoever divinity and celestial powers may exist may be propitious to us and to all that live under our government,"¹² evidently did not apply to the Jews. For with the rise of the "new Jerusalem," opposite the old city, and the building of the cathedral of Tyre, and of churches, by Helena at Bethlehem and other

places, the Jews, who were once more forbidden to enter the city, began moving to Babylon. Constantine, as historians relate, may have been later converted to Christianity through a perception of the beauty of Jesus' teachings, but his own code included the cruel provision that "any Jew who endangered the life of a Christian convert was to be buried alive." Only his death prevented the outbreak of active persecution in Palestine.

Trouble, however, came in 339, when Constantine II. (337-361), was on the throne. Epiphanius, a Jew by birth, and a native of Palestine, who figures among contemporary church writers as the cataloguer of all existing heresies, relates: "In 339, Joseph, the count of Tiberias, told him that by a special order of the emperor he built churches in the towns of the Jews in which there were none, for the reason that neither Greeks, Samaritans, nor Christians, were allowed there viz., at Tiberias, at Diocæsarea (Sepphoris), at Nazareth, and at Capernaum."¹⁸ In response the Jews of Sepphoris who had a well-organized community rose, over-ran the country, and apparently advanced to the gates of Jerusalem. Many Greek and Samaritan allies of the Jews were killed in this struggle.

War was renewed against the Persians in 351, and this served as the signal for another Jewish revolt in Palestine. Ursicinus, who led the legions into Palestine, demanded supplies for his army, increased the poll tax, and prohibited the observances of Judaism. The rebellion was stamped out with great bitterness. Sepphoris and Tiberias were destroyed, and Lydda partly demolished. The leader of the Sepphoris Jews was one Patricius, or Patrick, and his ennoblement by the Jews (they called him prince) was evidently accepted as a challenge to the imperial power.* So severe was the persecution that the rabbis permitted the baking of leavened bread for the Roman soldiers during the Passover. Enigmatic phrases addressed to the Babylonian teachers tell the story of the plight of the

* Dr. S. Buchler, in "The Political and Social Leaders of Sepphoris in the Second and Third Centuries" (London Jews' College), mentions a group designated "the great of the generation" who were the political representatives of the Jews, and responsible for the tax collections to the Romans (p. 13).

Palestinean Jews. Those of Sepphoris were so hunted they took to living in caves, so deep and dark, that, according to Huna bar Abbin ha-Kohen, they only knew it was night by the brighter glow of the torches.¹⁴ By that fitful glare, however, the Tiberias' rabbis solemnly debated the advisability of intercalating an additional month in the Jewish calendar, and, by revealing to the Babylonian rabbis the secret of adjusting the lunar system to the solar cycle, committed to them all authority, and the guardianship of the future of Judaism.

But to the emperor the Jews, being non-Christians, were "atheists," and on this pretext he proposed to confiscate what was left of their property. Death stayed his hand.

II

While the Palestinean Jews were passing religious authority to their comrades in Babylon, and the Christians, with imperial aid, were implanting Christianity on Palestine, and upon all the provinces, there came to the throne an emperor, "older in wisdom than in years . . . eager to acquire all kinds of knowledge, and in appearance the beau ideal of intellectuals, even to the pointed beard," Flavius Claudius Julianus, son of Julius Constantius, and nephew of Constantine "the Great." This scion of the imperial house is known as "Julian the Apostate" (361-363), because in his short reign he attempted to restore paganism to power. A native of Constantinople, he was thirty years old when he became emperor. The hair-splitting sectarian disputes of his theological teachers, some of whom it is suggested were secretly pagans, did not interest him. In his adolescence he was a rebel against the church, but he was permitted to live in Athens and imbibe more of its philosophy. He was appointed commander of the western army, and being successful in his campaign against the Franks, the legions, when the opportunity arose, practiced one of their favorite tricks, and proclaimed Julian, emperor.

Constantius dying in 361, this election was only a brief anticipation of events. Immediately after his coronation in Constantinople, Julian proclaimed himself a pagan, "but surprised both Christians and pagans by his edict of toleration";

though he turned the tables on the Christians by making them contribute to the support of the restoration of the heathen temples, and, somewhat dogmatically, forbade Christian masters of rhetoric and grammar to teach, unless they first accepted paganism. In 362 he made great preparations at Antioch for the renewal of the war with the Persians. Early in 363 he advanced to Ctesiphon with sixty-five thousand men, and on June 26th of that year he was dead from the thrust of a cavalry spear.

Within that short period he created a great turmoil in the paper record of Palestine. His own writings, and diaries, are lost. For his Palestinian policy we are dependent upon Gregory Nazienzus, a fellow student at Athens, but an avowed enemy of the emperor. Another contemporary was Ammianus Marcellinus, native of Antioch, a member of the Imperial body-guard, and more sympathetic to Julian's policy; but the attacks upon him by Bishop Cyril, of Jerusalem, of later date have preserved much of Julian's own writings. From these sources stem the mass of literature which has accumulated on Julian's remarkable reign, and more particularly on his curious relation to the Jews and to Palestine.

The emperor, who frankly imitated the mannerisms of Julius Cæsar, admired antiquity, and avowed a delight in its rituals and elaborate sacrificial rites. He disliked Christianity, because it was a new-fangled idea; and if we interpret him aright, its greatest demerit to him was that it was mostly the invention of his uncle Constantine "the Great," and therefore lacked that historic background which appealed to his temperament. *Per contra*, Judaism had great advantages. It had possessed an ornate temple, and had its roots in the long-gone past. It is clear from his discussion of the Old, and the New Testaments that he was not a monotheist.

While at Tarsus, some six months before his death, he delivered an oration, in the course of which he observed, "I myself after so long a period intended to rebuild [the Temple] to the honor of the god called thereby." The phrase comports with his pro-pagan predilections. An early sixth-century Syriac chronicle, written in Edessa, has a circumstantial account of

how the Jews in Tarsus influenced Julian to conceive the rebuilding of the Temple in Jerusalem as a desirable policy. Another early writer holds that Julian used the Temple restoration idea as a means of gaining the support of the Persian Jews in his war with Sapor.

Ammianus Marcellinus, the contemporary, says coldly: "Julian in his third consulship (363) . . . turning his attention to every quarter, and being desirous of immortalizing his reign by the greatness of his achievements, projected to rebuild, at an enormous expense, the once magnificent Temple at Jerusalem. . . . He entrusted the work to Alypius of Antioch who had formerly been a pro-prefect in Britain."¹⁵ Christian authorities maintain Julian had another motive, that of falsifying the prophecy of Jesus, "not one stone upon another should be left of the Temple." This reasoning may be dismissed. It chimes too perfectly with the miracle concept which so pleased the votaries of the fabulous.

Julian's famous letter not only shows great tenderness for the Jews, but discusses the project of rebuilding the Temple in language that shows a keen familiarity with Jewish viewpoints and Biblical phraseology. This same mild philosophic tone is found in other of Julian's documents. The emperor is a pagan in those sentences in which he refers to non-payment of taxes, as resulting in a charge of impiety. Emperors being "divine," disobedience to their commands was "impiety." In marked conflict is his acceptance of the wholly Jewish concept "Creator of the Universe," but he was well versed in the Bible. In a speech to his soldiers he spoke of "obeying the cautious guidance of God and myself as far as human reason can lead you safely," but he was surrounded by Etruscan soothsayers, and swayed by innumerable superstitions, portents, signs and omens. Constantine's edict of Milan shows a similar mingling in religious views. Julian did abolish the tax to which he refers, and the Patriarch mentioned in his letter has been identified. His marked interest in local Palestinian affairs is moreover shown in his depriving the Bishop of Gaza of all authority over the small heathen community of the port of Majuma, a suburb of Gaza. The passionate pagan fury of

Ascalon was such that when the persecutions of the Christians began, the bodies of young women and priests were cut open, filled with barley, and then cast to the swine.^{1*}

The Twenty-fifth epistle of Julian reads:

"To the Community of Jews,

"More oppressive for you in the past than the yoke of dependence was the circumstance that the new taxes were imposed upon you without previous notice, and you were compelled to furnish an enormous quantity of gold to the imperial treasury. Many of these hardships I myself noticed but I learned more from the tax rolls that were being preserved to your detriment, which I happened to light upon. I myself abolished a tax, which was about to be levied upon you, and thus put a stop to the impious attempt to bring infamy upon you; with my own hands did I commit to the flames the tax-rolls against you that I found in my archives, in order that no one might ever spread such a charge of impiety against you. The real author of these calumnies was not so much my ever-to-be remembered brother Constantius, as those men who, barbarians in mind and atheists in heart, were entertained at his table. With my own hands have I seized these persons, and thrust them into the pit, so that not even the memory of their fall shall remain with us.

"Desiring to extend yet further favors to you, I have exhorted my brother, the venerable Patriarch Julio* to put a stop to the collection of the so-called Spostole† among you, and henceforth no one will be able to oppress your people by the collection of such imposts, so that everywhere throughout my kingdom you may be free from care; and thus enjoying freedom you may address still more fervent prayers for my empire to the Almighty, Creator of the Universe, who has deigned to crown me with his own undefiled right hand.

"It seems to be the fact that those who lead lives full of anxiety are fettered in spirit, and do not dare to raise their hands in prayer. But those who are exempt from all cares, and rejoice with their whole hearts, are better able to direct their sincere prayers for the welfare of the Empire to the Mighty One, in whose power it lies to further the success of my reign, even according to my wishes.

"Thus should you, in order that when I return safely from the Persian war, I may restore the Holy City of Jerusalem, and rebuild it at my own expense, even as you have for so many years desired it to be restored; and therein will I unite with you in giving praise to the Almighty."

* Hillel II. (321-365).

† The Patriarch tax, which was later abrogated by Theodosius.

Jewish life in Palestine was eased, but Julian did not come back from the war. Nazienzus claims that the work of clearing the foundations was begun, but that a miracle stopped it. With the miracle phase projected into the record, legends grew fast and furious. Circumstantial accounts were produced of the great effort made by the Jews in the preliminary work. Couret,¹⁷ quoting a wide range of authorities, but of later date, has the Jews return to Palestine from many places, while the rejoicing communities of Tiberias, Jamnia, and Capernaum journey to Jerusalem with the gold of the rich, and the ornaments of the poor, for the great enterprise. Bishop Cyril smiles at the labors of the excited Jews. He predicts that the enterprise will cease by miraculous intervention, and the miracle happens.

It is however not difficult to agree that "the reputed rebuilding at Jerusalem of the temple by the emperor Julian and the attendant miracles should be relegated to their proper sphere of imaginative literature and fictitious history."¹⁸ Chronology does not comport with anything more than the imperial wish to act. Moreover, it is no ironic spirit that suggests that if the Jews had set their minds on the task, and were aided by the imperial rescript, and had the imperial treasury at their disposal, they would as readily have produced a few miraculous incidents in their favor, as the Christians who were capable of demonstrating that Heaven supported them, in the struggle against Jews, Samaritans, and pagans.

III

Jovian, another soldiers' emperor, reigned long enough to reverse Julian's decrees favoring the Jews. Valentinian I. (364-5), son of Gratianus, the ropemaker, turned the eastern empire over to his brother Valens (364-78), who lived mostly at Antioch, and, apart from a struggle with a usurper Procopius, devoted himself, with almost monkish zeal, to church affairs. He drove Cyril, who so bitterly attacked the memory of Julian the Apostate, out of his bishopric in Jerusalem, and aided in popularizing the Arian heresy. As part of this policy Valens reversed Jovian, and rebanished the bishops who had

been expelled by Constantine. He sent the Alexandrian heretics to the copper mines at Phaeno in the extreme east of Trans-Jordan, and punished others by forcing them to live in solitude at Sepphoris, in the heart of the Jewish national settlement. Refugees, under this pressure, fled from place to place.

Valens was, however, less resolute in dealing with the Arabs who made disastrous incursions into the country. The governor of the province marched against them, and gave battle. The result being indecisive, Valens yielded to circumstance, and made peace. But the Saracen chief died, and his widow, Mavie, renewed the war. After punishing the governor, who had been vanquished by a woman, Valens himself went to the front. The battle that followed presaged the future triumphs of the Arabs over the imperial forces. The Romans were routed, and the Arabs pursued the flying troops relentlessly. The victory, says Zosimus, was long celebrated in the national songs of the Saracens.

This invasion led to a redivision of Palestine, with a double administration, civil and military. *Palæstina Prima* included Jerusalem, the whole of southern Judea, and part of Samaria; *Palæstina Secunda* was centered at Beisan, and controlled the north; while Trans-Jordan and the district of Beersheba were included in *Palæstina Tertia*, or *Salutaris*. This arrangement was confirmed by Theodosius in his code, in 409. The primacy of Palestine, in the order of the provinces, and the task of administering, were well worthwhile, says Marcellinus: "The last province of the Syrias is Palestine, a district of great extent, abounding in well-cultivated and beautiful land, and having several magnificent cities, all of equal importance, and rivalling one another as it were, on parallel lines." He mentions Cæsarea, Eleutheropolis, Neapolis (Nablus), Ascalon, and Gaza, "cities built in by-gone ages." In Trans-Jordan "to which Trajan first gave the name of a Roman province," he notes the "mighty cities" of Bozrah, Geraza, and Philadelphia (Amman), "with very strong walls."¹⁹

Jews were secretly settled in their ancient capital, which,

now with its churches, theatres, public baths, Hadrian's circus, courthouse, barracks, governor's palace, and "all the disorders that accompany civilization,"²⁰ had become one of the great cities of the orient. In the train of the pilgrims came Greek and Italian merchants, buying balm of Gilead, dates from Jericho, wines of Gaza and Ascalon, pearls and perfume brought from India, and much prized local acacia wood. An immense trade was carried on in relics, the manufacture of which had become an important industry.

The morals of the city were extremely low. Gregory of Nyssa, who lived through the reigns of the joint emperors, Valentinian II. and his half-brother Augustus Gratianus, wrote, about 370, an account of Jerusalem which stamps the influence of the pilgrimages as dissolute in the extreme.

In his attempt to dissuade the pious from visiting the city, he wrote: "Extreme licentiousness prevails in many hostelries and cities of the East, which corrupt the ears, the eyes and the heart." Of Jerusalem he adds: "There was no place more addicted to crimes of the blackest dye," and he is at pains to point out that pilgrimages were "especially dangerous to female modesty," and urged the faithful to remember "that believers in this land shall partake of the gifts of grace according to the measure of faith, not by a visit to Jerusalem."²¹

The manners and morals of the people did not concern the emperor, or the church. These forces were concerned with stamping out paganism, and imposing a unified Christianity upon all the people of the empire. What Constantine began, Theodosius, who is also surnamed "the Great" (379-395), completed. Gratianus called him in, as co-emperor of the east, in 379. In 380, Theodosius was baptized, and accepted the policy of persecuting all those who would not adopt the Nicene creed. In Palestine sectarian disputes were rife, and led to monastic risings.

A bizarre picture closes the reign of Theodosius, and the end of Roman rule in Palestine. The lusts of Jerusalem, the asceticism of the desert hermits, despotism supreme, rebellion frequent, and Persian and Arab incursions. Greeks, Jews, Arabs, and Samaritans tilling the always productive soil. An endless

procession of pilgrims, and the daily discovery of new shrines for worship. The residue of the old population, Jews and Samaritans, united in their willingness to guide whoever offered to rid them of the yoke of Rome.

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- ⁵ Robinson, *Researches*, 1838, I, p. 373.
- ⁶ *Ibid.*, II, p. 80.
- ⁷ Alphonse Couret, *La Palestine sous les empereurs Grecs 326-636*, Grenoble, 1869, sec. ii, pp. 10-19.
- ⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 18.
- ⁹ Williams, I, p. 243.
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- ¹¹ *Z.D.V.P.*, XXVI, 1903, p. 165.
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- ¹⁶ *Paschal Chronicle*, P.P.T.S., p. 546.
- ¹⁷ Couret, p. 58.
- ¹⁸ Michael Adler, *Jewish Quarterly Review*, 1893, p. 651.
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- ²¹ Quoted by Williams, I, pp. 267-8.

CHAPTER IV

THE BYZANTINE RULERS—395 TO 564

WHEN Theodosius "the Great," on his deathbed, in 395, divided the Roman empire between his two sons, Arcadius and Honorius, Palestine became part of that desirable eastern regal domain which extended from the shores of the Adriatic to the Tigris. In outward political relations nothing changed. In the Prefecture of the East, *Palæstina Prima*, with its "consularis," still stood at the head of the list of provinces; *Palæstina Salutaris*, and *Palæstina Secunda*, each with a "præces," occupied eighth and ninth position, respectively. The four other provinces which composed Phœnicia and Syria, politically, retained their old positions. The whole country continued to be governed by the Prætorian Prefect of the East.

Administratively the result was considerable, though the most important changes were not effected till the reign of Justinian, by which time the country was groaning under a twofold burden, a complete military as well as a complete civil bureaucracy. Inwardly, however, a great change was wrought by the separation of the Eastern Empire from the influence of Rome. For a century and a half after Theodosius' death the "New Rome," as some historians named Byzantium (Constantinople), was at least as pagan as it was Christian. Court life was highly ceremonial, and given over to extraordinary gastronomic luxury, social pomp, and military display. The emperors were screened from public contact by a vast officialdom. This mode presented great opportunities for the exercise of authority by favorite and mostly venal ministers, and of intrigue by a succession of empresses, not a whit better than the monarchs who espoused them.

To the reign of Justinian detailed records of this era appear mostly in the writings of the Church chroniclers, who were particularly busy, in Palestine, noting their experiences, and who had excellent reason for inditing the events of a period in which the church gradually assumed public authority, and emperors became puppets. Further reason for the scantiness of the secular record may be found in the fanatic outbreak in Alexandria, in 415, which cost the celebrated Hypatia her life, and in which two hundred thousand books perished; and in the destruction by fire, in 477, of the royal library of Constantinople, which contained one hundred and twenty thousand volumes.

The two hundred and fifty years during which the Byzantine emperors ruled the "eastern provinces" were the "era of Jerusalem." For it was in this period that Jerusalem not only became "the joy of the whole earth," but at one moment threatened to displace Rome as the center of Christianity. The assiduously cultivated Zionolatry was such that Palestine became a mere appanage of Jerusalem to which city the western world was bowing in wonderment and awe. In a broad sense, in the fifth century, Palestine was a *tabula rasa* on which churchmen and women, rather than emperors and ministers, worked their will.

The humble Jewish population almost disappears, until in a spirit of wild adventure the old Galilean rebels again make themselves felt; and, for a spell, the Samaritan stock becomes the prominent and determined factor in revolution. While monks organize in battalions to settle church wars, bishops fight energetically for place, and queens intrigue from "retreats" for authority in that organization which, by persistence, achieved the greatest power ever wielded by man. Athwart this struggle, which gradually makes abbots more important than kings, is the resistance of a paganism which, unyielding in its native form, eventually conquered the outward mold of life, and made all that which is epitomized as Byzantian. Its antonym was the anchorite, to whom the flesh was sin, and life, even in its most meager form, avowedly hateful and undesirable.

Rome was more distant from Jerusalem than Constantinople, which was closely tied to, and much influenced by the great intermediate city of Alexandria. Thus the division of the Roman empire, which in the narrower sense was merely a continuation of an old policy, was, by the establishment of the capital in Constantinople, a real separation, for Palestine and Syria, from Roman and western influence.

By birth and inheritance the emperors, who enforced Christian dogma as a state religion upon an unwilling world, were pagans. They married women of pagan birth and thought; pagan philosophers sat side by side with Christian zealots at the royal tables. Though Constantine was dead full fifty years when the first Byzantine emperor came to the throne, the old heathen attitudes still dominated the East, and the success of the great Hellenic school of Alexandria was only overcome by the massacre with which the name of Cyril is so odiously associated. In the fifth century, among the principal questions which dominated Europe, "was the prolongation of the struggle of Christianity against paganism and Judaism." ¹ In the decay of the empire, the church became the "church of the Roman empire" and by its organization gradually replaced the municipal character of the Roman world. This thorough-going system, deploying its priestly officialdom in every town and hamlet, ran counter to the old Hellenic spirit which was "essentially scientific," and "applied far more to the research of truth than to the reformation and direction of manners," ² and opposed the Jews, and their sentiment of personal independence and liberty of conscience. Though the dogmas were formulated elsewhere, Jerusalem was the magic with which these views were forced upon barbarian, and pagan alike.

One vain effort to recall the past was made by the Chester-ton of that age, Leontius of Antioch, who, in 483, headed a movement to overcome the dominance of Christianity. In the struggle for mastery the vestiges of the gross worship of idols at Gaza and Banias, and the voluptuousness which made Byzantine a term of reproach, remained; but the intellectual freedom of the heathen world was destroyed, and so ruthlessly stamped upon, that presently heathen became a synonym for

barbarian, and broadly designated all those who would not conform. This process left its mark on Palestinean history.

II

Arcadius, who was eighteen when he came to the throne, in 395, turned over all authority to his minister, Rufinus, to whose treachery and to "the supineness of the general Addei"³ is attributed the unimpeded advance of the host of Trans-Caucasian Huns who, pouring through the Caspian Gates, rushed southward through Mesopotamia, and came like a visitation of locusts upon Syria. "There was a consistent and universal report in Jerusalem, that Jerusalem was the goal of the foes, and that on account of their insatiable lust for gold they were hastening to the city. The walls neglected by the carelessness of peace were replaced. . . . Tyre fain to break off from the dry land sought its ancient island. Then we too were constrained to provide ships, to stay on the seashore to take precautions against the arrival of the enemy, and though the winds were wild, to fear a shipwreck less than the Barbarians."⁴ . . . Herds of captives were dragged away. Arabia, Phœnicia, Palestine, Egypt were led captive by fear."⁵

The central government took no measures, nor did it attempt, in 403, to prevent the incursion of the Isaurians, of the Taurus, into Palestine. The court was pre-occupied by conspiracies; Rufinus was replaced by the eunuch Eutropius, and by Gainas, who murdered Rufinus, a venal gang who, for a sufficient consideration, were liberal in their disposition towards the Palestinean population. These three ministers, in turn, and then the beautiful Empress Eudoxia, hated of Church chroniclers, ruled till her death, in 404. The luxury-loving, feeble Arcadius was, in 408, succeeded by a boy emperor, Theodosius II., eight years old. Anthemius, his minister, was the actual ruler of the empire, but, from 414, affairs of state were considerably handled by the emperor's sister, Pulcheria, who, on assuming the reigns of government, vowed to remain a virgin as long as her brother lived.

Theodosius, on his second marriage, espoused Eudocia, the daughter of a pagan philosopher. She was baptized, and her

later life was intensely involved in the affairs of Syria and Palestine—particularly of Jerusalem, and in the great sectarian struggles of the period. Theodosius was an easy-going monarch, and his minister, Asclepiodotus, issued a decree forbidding the taking away of synagogues from the Jews, and the payment of a reasonable compensation for those in use as churches, which therefore could not be returned to them.*

Three contemporary pictures of pilgrimages, licentiousness, and luxury, etch the life of Palestine. Away to the north, Antioch, "splendid metropolis of the East," the city of pleasure, was dominated by Daphne, a suburb, ten miles in circumference, the original Coney Island, which boasted the first "White Way." Miles of its streets, the resort of great crowds who enjoyed the performances of actors, singers, ballet-dancers and circus clowns, were brilliantly lighted at night.*

In Cæsarea, government center of Palestine, this gayety was fully reflected. All the fashionable follies of the stadium were practiced, in close imitation of Constantinople. Charioteers abounded, horse racing was the popular sport, and, copying the mode of the imperial capital, the jockeys were garbed in blue and green. The betting on the rival colors resulted at the end of the races in the same sort of violent outbreaks between the supporters of the opposing teams, as are recorded of Constantinople and elsewhere.

The rival colors, blue and green, taken over from the Romans, are presumed to have indicated adherence to rival political factions which established considerable power throughout the empire. Gibbon suggests that blue was the "livery of disorder," and, religiously, the color of those zealously devoted to orthodoxy. In Palestine the colors, apparently, also denoted the rivalries of paganism and Christianity, for at a race in Gaza, another great sporting center, we read that the mob yelled: "*Marnas victus, a Christo est.*" So little sanctity was there in current religion.

* Joshua the Stylite describing similar scenes at Edessa explains: "Lamps were arranged . . . along the ground along the river . . . hung . . . on porticoes, in the town hall, and in the upper streets." He describes the people "going up in crowds to the theatre at eventide, clad in linen garments, and wearing turbans, with their loins ungirt" (p. 18). Gibbon notes: "Nocturnal illuminations were objects of great concern" (IV, p. 336).

A modern commentator on the pilgrimage of the Empress Eudocia, in 437, says of Jerusalem, "epicurianism and lust made it 'more like a tavern, or a brothel than a great place.' " " 7

Porphyrius, Bishop of Gaza, sailed ten days from Cæsarea to Rhodes, and ten days from Rhodes to Constantinople, to lay before the emperor his great complaint against the idolaters, and the licentiousness, of Samson's ancient city. Christians were being oppressed and neither allowed to perform their public duty nor till their fields, "from whose produce they pay the dues to your imperial sovereignty." Gaza was a great pagan center. The temple of Marne, the Cretan Jupiter, was a magnificent structure in the finest Greek style. The Sun god, Apollo, Proserpine, Hecate, Juno, and Fortuna, all had their votaries among the native population, mostly of Arab origin. Porphyrius wanted to pull them down. The religious empress supported the bishop's cause. "But the emperor was put out when he heard it, and said 'I know that city is devoted to idols, but it is loyally disposed in the matter of taxation, and pays a large sum to the revenue. If then we overwhelm them with terror of a sudden they will betake themselves to flight, and we shall lose so much of the revenue. But if it must be, let us afflict them partially, depriving idolaters of their dignities and other public offices, bid their temples be shut up, and be used no longer.' " " 8

III

The Academy, and the Patriarchate, which had maintained the intellectual life of the Jews, upheld their traditions, and prescribed their laws, came quietly to its end in 425. The Academy had met in Jamnia, in Usha, in Sepphoris, probably in Cæsarea, and found its most permanent home in Tiberias, which, centuries after Babylon had acquired leadership, still remained a center of intellectual life for the Palestinian Jews. The Patriarchs, who presided over it and over the community, held an office that was recognized by the state. The Patriarchate tax was authorized, but the collection of it was frequently prohibited. Arcadius was the last monarch to confirm the office in some of its minor privileges, but in 399, the gov-

ernment opposed the shipment of money, from the west to the east, in payment of the tax. The restriction was subsequently withdrawn, for in 396, Arcadius issued to Claudianus an edict to protect "the illustrious patriarch" against insult. The last Patriarch, a descendant of Hillel, with whose death the office ceased, enjoyed only empty honors, decked in Byzantine fripperies.

Two Hillels, three Simons, four Judahs, and four Gamaliels, filled the Palestinian Patriarchate during three and a half centuries. Their names precede their rulings. Here and there a shred of story suggests something of their individual characters. Origen complained to Africanus, governor of Second Pannonia, about 226, of the authority exercised by the Patriarch, "with the permission of the Emperor." "Even courts are secretly held according to the law, and even on various occasions sentence of death is pronounced." No records confirm this. The physical existence of the Academy, which was at once school, national assembly, and court of justice, was lowly and fugitive. To one or the other Patriarch is attributed wealth and power; a vast impersonality however, shadows all of them.

Their lives, their decisions, and their literary efforts, are all bound up in the compilation of the Mishnah, and in the collation of the Jerusalem Talmud, of which no perfect copy now exists, and which holds a position inferior to the Talmud compiled in Babylon. The Jerusalem Talmud represents the labors of six generations of *Tannaim* (Aramaic for teachers), comprising over two hundred and sixty Palestineans, "learned in the law," who began their task in the year 10 and ended it in 220. These were succeeded by the *Amoraim* expounders, of whom almost three hundred contributed their knowledge, from 219 to about 500.

The compilation of the Talmud which, like "the intellectual labor of the Middle Ages is deficient in artistic merit," somewhat obscures other literary efforts made within this period by Jews, or buries them within its ample pages. Justus of Tiberias, wrote a Hebrew *History of the Wars*, of which nothing

exists but the references in Josephus who, though a Palestinian, wrote in Rome and therefore does not come under review. The finest literary product of the period is the *Ethics of the Fathers* (*Pirke Abot*), a distinguished compilation of characteristic terse quotations, which made its appearance in the fifth century; from this time also dates the first liturgical poems, with acrostics, still retained in the Jewish ritual.

Of more historical value is the "Scroll of the Fasting" (*Megillat Ta'anit*) which was begun at the outbreak of the great war against Rome by the Zealot, Eleazar, and was completed by others. In order to encourage the people to patriotic sacrifice the Scroll, arranged in the order of the calendar, sets forth the festivals celebrating Jewish national achievements, and the fasts to be observed in memory of disasters.

A more ambitious work was done by Jose ben Halafta, a native of Sepphoris, who, in the second century, compiled a chronological history of the world to the days of Bar Kokba, known, in Hebrew, as *Seder Olam*. This is the first work, after the close of the Canon, preserved in its original Hebrew.¹⁰ It practically standardized the interpretation of Biblical chronology. Astronomy was apparently studied in connection with the fixing of the calendar, and there is a reference to the use of a telescope by one of the rabbis, in the first century. A Hebrew work on mathematics is also presumed to be of this period, and of Palestinian authorship.

The men who closed the Talmud, were Jeremiah, Jonah, and Jose II., first of the Saboraim. Within its terse decisions and prolix reasoning, its fanciful stories, and its euphemisms, the social, economic and political experiences of the Jews are unfolded, and the conditions of the country described. But there is neither historical sequence nor chronological detail to guide the wanderer in its mazes. Much of it represents a state in being—the community of Jews in Palestine; a good deal of it relates to the things of the spirit, the ideal life.

With the closing of the Jerusalem Talmud its followers too, for a time, seem to disappear from the pages of Palestinian history. Vaguely for a generation Cæsarea, Lydda, Tiberias,

and Nazareth, continue to be mentioned as towns inhabited by Jews. Graetz judged correctly when he wrote "the middle ages really began for Judaism with Theodosius."

IV

Meanwhile Palestine had a new, and exciting experience. In 437, Eudocia, the famous Byzantine empress, accompanied by Melana, a lady of noble Roman birth and a great patron of recluses and hermits, visited Jerusalem, and being considerably involved in the personal struggles of John Chrysostom, the Patriarch of Constantinople, took an intensely active part in Palestinian church affairs. Laden with relics, Eudocia returned to Constantinople, but the emperor suspecting his pilgrim-wife of an amour with Paulinus, the lover was executed, and the empress banished. She selected as the place of her retirement Jerusalem, whither she returned in 443.

Her imperial presence, and that of her granddaughter, who followed and shared as fully in the honors as in the trials of the times, produced for the first time since the fall of the Herodian monarchy a series of court and church intrigues, with their usual concomitants, assassinations, and counter-assassinations. Her love for the city induced Eudocia to complete the rebuilding of the walls, which had been begun by Valerian towards the end of his reign. Extending the city, so that it included the Pool of Siloam, she erected within the area a number of churches, monasteries, convents, hospitals, and almshouses.* The need for this reconstruction may have been occasioned by the earthquakes which affected Palestine in 425, of which no particulars are recorded.

Both Eudocia and her granddaughter were greatly exercised by the struggle for internal and external supremacy which the Church Fathers were now waging. Three men of very different temperament contributed to this struggle, which became the dominant feature of the seven-year reign of Marcianus (450-457), who was made emperor through his mar-

* "Christian Jerusalem has known three principal periods of prosperity incarnated in . . . Helena, Eudocia and Justinian."—Official Guide of the French Pilgrims to Jerusalem, p. 128.

riage to Pulcheria Augusta, who apparently held to her vow till her brother, Theodosius, died.

Jerome, celebrated translator of the Vulgate, settled permanently in Palestine about 386, and achieved great popularity for his learning and sanctity. He had been accompanied by the Lady Paula, greatest of the nun-pilgrims, and her daughter Eustochium, almost the first of those known to have visited Nazareth—for it was still a small Jewish town—built three convents, and, for Jerome, a retreat in Bethlehem. From his cell, during intervals in his great translation of the Bible in Latin, he sent out his fiery missives. He set his face sternly against mere idle pilgrimages to the holy sites. His life was not without its personal trials; for two years, prior to his death in 425, he had to hide from the vengeance of opposing fanatics.

Jerome established, for Palestine, authority in Christian scholarship, and he enhanced the reputation of its monasteries. The attack of the Huns, on Rome, and on the West, brought tattered and despairing refugees to the doors of the convents and retreats, which had spread throughout the land. These newcomers, though half-nude, and in rags, and objects of charity, were mostly members of western patrician families. Though alms had to be collected for their support they brought into Palestine for the first time a class, other than the bureaucracy, ennobled for a day by office, under emperor, or provincial governor. Plague and Arab incursions, in the course of which the hermits and monks were killed in their desert cells, added greatly to the trials of these new settlers.

A shrewd and ambitious man, Juvenal, became Bishop of Jerusalem in 421 and set out deliberately to enhance his see to the rank of Metropolis in the church, with himself as Metropolitan. Marcianus, and his empress, struggled vainly against this church leader, who, usurping authority, ordained bishops in Phœnicia and Arabia. He sedulously fought the Council of Chalcedon, Cyril of Alexandria, and the Metropolitan of Antioch, until he succeeded in having himself named Metropolitan of all Palestine.

The Council of Nicæa had, in 325, acknowledged the rights of the Bishopric of Jerusalem, "saving however the domestic

right of the metropolis." The incumbent wanted more authority, and from the circumstance that Cyril was thrice expelled between 350 and 386, and the office thrice "intruded" by others, the position appealed to ambitious and not too scrupulous ecclesiastics. Juvenal, in 425, took advantage of the conversion of an Arab tribe to ordain a bishop. So developed a bitter personal struggle for power. The contestants mostly represented opposing dogmas. The usurpers were generally Arians; the Palestineans were mostly monophysites; and their view influenced the Jacobites, whose first bishop was appointed in 597.

Juvenal changed front on the dogmatic question and, in 451, in the absence of his opponents, voted himself Metropolitan. So bitter was the feeling that a monk, named Theodosius, roused the populace against the incumbent. Juvenal, together with the Bishop of Majuma, was forced to flee from Palestine. By force Theodosius for some time maintained himself as bishop; a massacre occurred before the doors of the Holy Sepulchre, "and the dead, carried through the city, served as an example for the Catholics."¹¹ Eudocia was on the side of the monophysites; but she soon changed her creed, and the rising was suppressed in 453.

Euthymius was the third of these determined personalities who helped bring about so great a change in the affairs of Palestine. As a desert hermit of great sanctity he wielded influence, by controlling the mind of the Empress Eudocia, who held her court in Jerusalem. Theodosius was supported by other monks, and in the course of this ecclesiastical struggle Palestine was desolated as though it had been invaded by barbarians.¹²

Arabs again invaded the southland and the governor of the province, returning from punishing these raiding bands of Bedouins, found the gates of Jerusalem closed against him by partisans of Theodosius. Eventually the Emperor Marcianus, having exhausted all peaceful expedients for ending the schism in the eastern church, came to Jerusalem with ample troops; whereupon Theodosius fled. The rebel monk spent the rest of his life on Mount Sinai, which by now had its quota of convents, churches, and hermitages.

These creedal fights must have provided the Palestinian Jews with a needed period of peace, for a solitary reference to them relates the return to Palestine of migrants from a small Jewish state in Machuza, and from other Babylonian centers. Among the immigrants attracted to Palestine at this time were some Georgians who settled at el Maliha, a village in the vicinity of Jerusalem. There they developed rose gardens of which a tradition still survives. The Georgians were gradually Arabized, and eventually became Muslims.¹³

V

Marcianus was, at the instance of Aspar, the Arian King-maker, succeeded by Leo I., "the Butcher," and his grandson Leo II., who reigned for only a few months. Leo I., gave to Amorkesos, a Persian fire-worshipper, the island of Jotaba at the mouth of the Gulf of Aqaba. This island, which rarely figures in history, was a customs station for Indian trade, and, producing a considerable source of revenue to the empire, was regarded as part of the Palestinian domain. It was recovered by the empire in 498, and figures in the Justinian records. Leo II., grandson of Leo I., reigned only a few months, being murdered by his own father, Zeno, "the base-born Isaurian." Verina, the widow of Leo, thereupon sounded the revolt, and Zeno fleeing to his native land, Basilicus usurped the throne, and was proclaimed emperor by the Senate. During his reign of twenty months, Syria and Palestine were again affected by earthquakes, and the usurper contributed liberally to the rebuilding of the towns which suffered from the shocks. But Basilicus was a monster such as even the Greeks could not stomach, so they called back Zeno (471-491), and he ruled with an Isaurian, Illus, as his minister.

Verina, opposing the popular decision, raised an army of seventy thousand men, and campaigned through Syria and Egypt in behalf of another of her military favorites. She achieved no political success, but ravaged the country considerably. In the struggle the revenues of the country were exhausted, and the Palestinians were burdened with additional taxes to pay for the dynastic fights.

The Jews were again denied the right of entry to Jerusalem,

but to Zeno belongs the record of provoking the Samaritans to a series of independent risings. In 484 they set up a king named Justusa, and, according both to Procopius and the *Paschal Chronicle*, they captured Cæsarea, burnt one of its churches, and slaughtered many of its inhabitants. They dealt likewise with Nablus, which was close to their center. Zeno sent Asclepiades, Duke of Palestine (that title was now the vogue for the governor), to put down the rebels. He captured Justusa and sent him captive to Zeno, and turned over the Samaritan Temple, on Mount Gerizim, to the Christians. In the following reign however the Samaritans recovered their temple, but it became a synagogue, and, according to the Church historians, was subsequently converted into a church, heavily guarded by soldiers.

Meanwhile Arabs raided the country, and monks were killed in their "lauras." The Arabs temporarily obtained possession of Jotaba, but this advantage was short lived, and the island customs' station returned to the authority of the empire.

On the death of Zeno, his widow, Ariadne, by her marriage to Silentiarius, an aged domestic of the palace, raised him to the throne, under the title of Anastasius I. (491-518). The new emperor was sixty years of age, and dearly loved monks and church squabbles. In the main his reign is a record of the attempt to solve the question of dogma with the aid of soldiers. But Anastasius had other merits. He was a great builder, and restored the harbor of Cæsarea. He abolished the "gold of affliction," the tax levied quadrennially on artisans, forbade contests with wild beasts, and abolished a tax instituted by Constantine which "recognized vices of an unnatural character," in response to an attack on this tax in a satirical play written by Timotheus, an actor of Gaza.

In the first decade of this reign, on Ab 22, 501 (the Syriac chronicler uses the Hebrew months throughout), Palestine and Syria were awestruck by a remarkable display of the aurora borealis.* This natural phenomenon was followed by

* A modern writer refers to a similar display witnessed by him from Masada on the Dead Sea, February, 1872. He noted that the Arabs were not awed by it, and knew it had something to do with the North.—H. B. Tristram, *The Land of Moab*, New York, 1873.

a severe earthquake, in which "Acre was overturned, and nothing left standing, half of Tyre and Sidon destroyed."

Though Anastasius attempted to win the good will of the inhabitants of Jerusalem by sending them, through his minister Urbicius, large gifts, he could not overcome the opposition of Elias, the bishop of Jerusalem, and of Sabas, the hero of the monastery near the Dead Sea. These churchmen were opposed to the emperor's doctrinaire views, and refused to obey the dictates of a synod convened at Sidon by Anastasius. To enforce his order of banishment, the emperor sent to Jerusalem a military force, under Duke Olympius. Failing in his task, Olympius was deposed, and another duke of Palestine, one Anastasius, son of Pamphylius, was sent with more soldiers to carry out the imperial orders. Obtaining two days of grace the wily bishop assembled ten thousand of his followers, in one of the Jerusalem churches, and supported by Saba, anathematized the Duke, who fled to Cæsarea. The governor of Palestine returned to Jerusalem at the head of sufficient troops to seize Elias and banish him to Elath (Aqaba), then the southernmost town of Palestine. Thus began (512-518), what is known in church history as the revolt of the monks,¹⁴ and which only ended with the death of the emperor.

VI

The army raised to the throne Justin I. (518-527), who found in the treasury 320,000 pounds of gold, saved by Anastasius from the revenue. Being illiterate, Justin resigned the civil administration to the Quæstor Proclus. Justin was regarded as orthodox, and he immediately issued decrees, which though they came too late to restore Bishop Elias, pleased Saba so much that at the head of ten thousand recluses, who gathered in the Kedron valley, he marched into Jerusalem and organized festivities in honor of the new imperial dispensation.

Behind all these schismatic differences was the attempt, on the part of the Palestinean churchmen, to release themselves from the authority of Rome. Combinations of the eastern

prelates give color to this presumed plan, which was abandoned by the submission of the eastern church to Rome, in 521. The internecine struggles between the dogmatists in Palestine however continued long after, and were not interrupted by the great earthquake of 525, which completely destroyed Antioch.

Justinian, the rapacious, mounted the throne in 527, and in the third year of his reign, owing to his intolerance and avarice, the Samaritans rose a third time, extending their struggle to Gaza.

They selected one Julian, as their ruler, making Nablus the center of the struggle. They infested the roads to Jerusalem, Cæsarea, and Beisan, devastated the country, ravaging the First and Second Palestines, massacred the Christians, killed the Bishop of Nablus, and his priests, pillaged and ransacked churches, burnt villages, and destroyed part of Beisan.

The military governor, Theodore, called for aid from the outlying frontier garrisons, and made alliance with Abrocharal, a chief of the Bedouin confederation, and marched against the Samaritan chief, and his army. Julian abandoned the district of Samaria and fought in the mountains of Jaulan. Here he was overcome by the Greek army. Thirty thousand Samaritans were slain, and twenty thousand were taken prisoner and given to Abrocharal as a reward for his aid, who disposed of them in India and Persia. Some of the Samaritans fled, others sought refuge in the mountains and appealed to Chosroes the Persian to aid them, holding out the inducement of the rich pillage available in Jerusalem. Theodore was deposed, for not having prevented the ravages of the Samaritans, and was replaced by Irene, who continued the pursuit.

To add to the confusion that followed the rebellion, it was cleverly represented to the emperor that the Samaritans had been provoked to rise by the violence of the Christians. The depopulation of the province, the ravages of the campaign, the irrecoverable revenues, were all due, so the allegation ran, to the tyranny of the Christians. The emperor thereupon proceeded to deal severely with his Christian subjects. Saba, in his ninetieth year, undertook to intercede for them, and he

obtained from Justinian a remission of the taxes for the two Palestines affected. The relief amounted to thirteen centaries of gold; * for the Beisan area, twelve; and the rest of the province, one.

The Samaritan chiefs in Constantinople were executed, their synagogues closed, and exceptionally rigorous laws passed against them. They were prohibited from alienating their property, or giving, or receiving, testamentary bequests. The Samaritans were so harshly treated that those in Cæsarea, with whom the Jews made common cause, during a chariot race, rose and killed the Governor Stephan, and many Christians. Justinian sent Amantius, governor of Antioch, to suppress this repercussion of the revolt.

Saba succeeded in inducing the Emperor to rebuild the churches destroyed by the Samaritans, and erect a new and strongly fortified church on Mount Gerizim. Justinian thus became one of the great church builders in Palestine. The most famous of his contributions was the church in honor of the Virgin, on which neither expense nor labor was spared. It stood where the Aqsa stands within the Haram Area.¹⁵ For good measure Justinian added ten or more monasteries around Jerusalem, and built a sanitarium for pilgrims at Jericho. He is also credited with building walls around many cities, such as Bethlehem.

In this wise Palestine passed into a new architectural era. The Herodian Jewish architecture, destroyed by the Romans, was, by them, replaced with heavy Romanesque buildings. Much of this was however also destroyed, and replaced, as were all the new structures, including the desert convents, in the Byzantine style. Of all these building efforts there survived, six centuries later, only the cistern of the great monastery of St. John, dug by order of Justinian, on the Jordan. But the Church of Mary was the great architectural achievement of the period. It took twelve years to build, and the government collectors of Palestine were instructed to furnish the funds. "It exceeds all descriptions which have been handed down by the Greeks," wrote the biographer of Saba.

* Between three and four million dollars.

Justinian's financial needs led him to devising the grant of commercial monopolies. By seizing the silk trade—its weaving was a distinct Palestinian industry—as a source of revenue, he seriously affected Palestinian economics. "As soon as the exclusive sale of silk was usurped by the Imperial Treasury, a whole people, the manufacturers of Tyre and Beirut, were reduced to extreme misery, and either perished with hunger, or fled to the hostile dominions of Persia."¹⁶ Silk was originally imported exclusively from China, and the yarn was so precious that a pound of it brought twelve ounces of gold. Silkworm eggs and mulberry leaves were smuggled west, and the cultivation of silk became a great industry in all suitable Mediterranean areas. Slowly as the supply increased the commodity dropped to one-twelfth of its original value. Chinese silk however remained the most prized yarn, and its winding and rewinding at Gaza, creating a considerable local industry, was one stage in the manufacture of "a thin gauze produced for the purpose of exposing to the public eye naked draperies, and transparent matrons."¹⁷ Only one cloth exceeded this in delicacy, a fabric spun from the web of "the silk worm of the sea," a material so rare and costly that it was reserved for the making of royal garments.

Justinian's clamorings for additional revenue, and the intrigues of his courtesan empress, Theodora, involved him in appointing, banishing, recalling, rebanishing, and recalling again, John of Cappadocia, the Prætorian Prefect of the East, thus adding to the pro-Persian sentiment, which was materially increased by his wholly unsuccessful war with the Persians.

The celebrated general, Belisarius, went through Palestine to make war on the Persians. Chosroes I. (531-579), of the house of Sassanidæ, who gave shelter to some of the Samaritan refugees, renewed in 540 the struggle started in 521, and which lasted twenty years. The campaign was suspended, as Procopius, a native of Cæsarea tells, by the first great outbreak, in 542, of the bubonic plague. The epidemic started in Pelusium, swept all through Palestine, and lasted four years, compelling Chosroes I. to retire from his campaign against Justinian. "It produced stagnation in trade, and a cessation of

work. All customary occupations were broken off, and the market places were empty, save of corpse-bearers.¹⁸ A second visitation of the epidemic occurred in 558.

Finally Justinian made peace, and agreed to pay Chosroes I. two thousand pounds in gold each year, for five years, and to permit Tribunes, the most reputed doctor of his age, and a native of Palestine, to remain for one year at the Persian court. The indemnity was not completely paid. The failure to comply with its terms was the cause of another war. But in this treaty the travel routes for the caravans—the road from China to Syria took 243 days to traverse—were carefully prescribed, so as to facilitate the collection of customs on all merchandise passing east and west. It is, perhaps, in connection with these custom stations that there sprang up a wide scattering of the inhabitants of Palestine in border places, not previously recorded as being inhabited. A solitary Jewish tombstone, of the year 433, at Qasr al-Tuba on the Dead Sea, is in its brevity eloquent of the folkways of the period. It reads: "Rested be the soul of Saul son of . . . who died on the first of the month of Marheshvan of the year the first of the Shemita (release) the year three hundred and sixty and four years after the destruction of the house of the sanctuary. Peace." ¹⁹

The greater age of the pilgrimages, and of the enrichment of Palestine, had begun. They came from all the western lands. The hospices indulged them in Byzantine luxury. Mary's Church and the Church of the Holy Sepulchre competed with each other in the munificence of vestments and in the exhibition of magnificent and ancient vases of gold. It was said that the golden ornaments of the Herodian Temple taken to Rome by Titus, seized by Genseric, and recovered at Carthage by Belisarius, were, in fear of a prophecy that their possession was fatal to any owner, now sent by Justinian to Jerusalem. Less than a century later they disappeared, with the cross of pearls of Theodora, the crown of gold embellished with jewels from the king of Ethiopia, and much else that at this age made the glory of the city, in the sacking of Jerusalem by Chosroes II.

Justinian extended his building operations to Tiberias, and away northeast to Palmyra, which he attempted to revive. While he published his celebrated code, and a theological edict, and sent an army to subdue the Saracens, who again rose in the north, his ecclesiastical discipline, owing to his alliance with the Latin Church, was defied; the dogmatic disputes were renewed; a Provincial Synod was held in Jerusalem; and the monks of Tekoa expelled. "The ruined shafts of marble columns prostrate on the ground, among them a grand monolithic font in perfect preservation . . . are the sole existing monuments of those scandalous contentions of the now desolate site of Tekoa." ²⁰

One of the notable sects, founded in Justinian's reign, were the Jacobites, of whom there are still about a thousand in Palestine, known as the Syrian Orthodox Church. This native Christian group, like the Nazarenes, retained the rite of circumcision, a custom that prevailed also among the Georgians, and the Abyssinians—and like the Jews they blew the ram's horn on their festivals. ²¹

Their founder was Jacobus Barodus (Bar-dai), whence their name, who, to the annoyance of the dominant church party, organized the monophysite recusants of the country into a single party, and established a church whose leader was also styled, Patriarch of Jerusalem. Later they frequently made common cause with the Armenians, who, having rejected the decrees of the Council of Chalcedon, were the leading factor in the monophysite (human nature become divine) heresy.

Justinian's theological code did not ignore Jews. He forbade them appearing in court as witnesses against Christians, and as heretics they were obliged, without being exempted from the privileges of the office—release from exile and flogging—to serve as *decurions* (magistrates), a type of honor that, as in earlier centuries, was mostly enforced on the recipient as a means of extracting taxes. The Jews were still settled in Tiberias, their seat of authority, but challenged there by a bishopric in the hill towns of Galilee, and, strangest of all, in Nazareth. Justinian directed the Jews not to observe the Pass-

over when it occurred prior to the Christian Easter. He demanded the introduction of the Greek translation of the Bible in the synagogues, and in his zeal for the Trinitarian doctrine is said to have prohibited the use of the Hebrew confession of faith. His restriction of the exposition of the Jewish law, then customary in the synagogue, resulted, according to Graetz,²² in the interpretation of the Psalms in cryptic fashion, so that by Esau the Jews understood Byzantium, just as a previous age had interpreted Edom as Rome.

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CHAPTER V

GREEK AND PERSIAN MEET—564 TO 629

THE power of Byzantium was already in a state of ripe decay when, in 536, Justinian endeavored to stay its corroding process by simplifying the administration of the eastern provinces. Apparently he made the offices in the outlying parts of the empire more attractive to the officials by enhancing the titles. The *præsides* of Phœnicia and Libanesia were made moderators, and the *præsides* of Palæstina Salutaris was made proconsul, with authority to supervise and to intervene in the affairs of the Second Palestine. By this latter act the emperor manifested some tenderness for the traditions of the country, meaning thereby no doubt the Greek officials, for we meet with no reference to a decrease of taxation as a consequence of these changes.

The commercial conditions of the country were, however, excellent, and in the reign of Justinian, the Younger (565-578), Antonius, the Martyr, was so amazed at the success of Tyre that he wrote: "The luxury is such as cannot be described." He, however, abhorred the immorality that went with it: "There are public brothels."

The unimpressive personalities of the rulers who succeeded Justin II., indirectly made vital history in Palestine. Justin had been unsuccessful in his war with Chosroes I., of Persia, and became insane. Thereupon Tiberius, Captain of the guard, was made regent, and at the emperor's death became his full successor (578-582). The conduct of Persian affairs was thereupon turned over to Maurice, who became emperor (582-602). He ended the struggle with Persia by placing on its throne Chosroes II., who had been banished by his subjects, and who, for including in his limitless harem a daughter of Maurice, received Byzantian aid in his endeavors to recover

his crown. Maurice was a capable but miserly ruler, and he was slain by his successor, Phocas, in a military insurrection organized in 602 by unpaid soldiers. During the almost monotonous coming and going of emperors in Constantinople, which characterized the four last decades of the sixth century, Palestinian history was reduced to a record of convents, mortuary tables of abbots and prioresses, and stinging protests against an immorality which did not comport with a land dotted black with churches and religious buildings.

In that comparatively peaceful period, Jerusalem, with its three hundred monasteries—seventy belonged to the Armenians—churches, and hospices, was again, to repeat Pliny's ancient description, "by far the most famous city not of Judea alone, but of the East."¹ Olivet was crowned with the famous Church of the Ascension. What is now the bleak vista to the Dead Sea was a perspective of endless churches, monasteries, and oratories in which the discontented from all parts of the empire found refuge. At night the thousands of lamps, shining through the countless windows, provided a great illumination.

The religious practices created much commerce. The Festival of the Ascension brought long lines of caravans from all parts of Asia Minor, Persia, Arabia, and Africa. Laodicea sent carpets, Smyrna and Antioch, brocades; Tyre, its famous purple cloths; Alexandria, fine linen and papyrus rolls; Armenia its minerals. The Ethiopians, making the long voyage up the Red Sea, offered ivory; gold, emeralds, and pearls came from India; pepper from Malabar; and spices and rare silks from China. Jerusalem was a world mart and the eastern kings fought each other to gain ascendancy in its trade. From France came merchants of Verdun, Arles, and Narbonne. Venice sent its factors. Palestine, in exchange, offered its wines—that of Gaza being the most popular in France, dates, olives and fruits galore, and above all, relics, the manufacture and export of which developed rapidly. The customs officials collected from one, or two, to fifty per cent of the value of all imports.

The theaters were crowded; the public baths popular. Mendicants, in hair shirts and tatters, contrasted with women in gorgeous apparel, decked in pearl-embroidered costumes;

interminable festivities, danseuses, and great choirs, offered amusement; tables groaned with the luxury of choice foods and wines. It was a wide-open world, amazing the faithful by its licentiousness.

The picture could be repeated for Gaza, the next important city, and now wholly Greek in faith and in population; for Beisan and Cæsarea; while Jaffa, Ascalon, Banias, Tiberias, Emmaus, Bethlehem, Cana, Capernaum, Lydda, Nablus, and even Nazareth exhibited their collection of elegant churches, special shrines, retreats, cells, and luxuries.

The church was wholly thoroughly corrupt. . . . "Simonical practices prevailed . . . to such an extent that bribery was the only road to ordination and preferment." ²

The brilliant flame of piety and trade, of austerity and lasciviousness, spreading its radiance through all the western world, shone at its brightest, just before it was extinguished in one fell swoop.

II

The Emperor Maurice had been slain at the instance of Phocas, whose evil nature and cruelties make him comparable to Nero and Commodus. Having bought the throne, with crime, he proceeded to disturb the peace by determining on the enforced baptism of all the Jews in Syria and in Palestine. Georgios, the emperor's representative, appeared in Jerusalem and elsewhere, and demanded that the Jews accept the font.³ The Jews of Antioch rose. Phocas sent Bonosus, governor of the east, to put down the rising. The Jews gave battle to inferior forces, and held their own. Bonosus recalled the frontier regiments, and eventually put down the rebellion in which the Antiochean Jews retaliated in kind for all the cruelties and persecutions practiced upon them in preceding centuries. "The Jews of Palestine, more prudent, waited for revenge on the arrival of the Persian: They were coming." ⁴

Chosroes II., grandson of the Chosroes who had warred with Justinian, had been deposed in his early youth but had been restored to his throne by the Emperor Maurice, whose daughter he married. The Persian monarch surrendered much to the

Byzantines until his benefactor and relative was murdered at the instigation of Phocas. In 604 he decided to avenge the murder of Maurice, and, descending from his eastern home, systematically ravaged all of Mesopotamia and Arabia. He moved west, and eventually captured all the lands from the Tigris to the Hellespont. Antioch was sacked in 610, and then Chosroes proclaimed a holy war against "the Christian mis-believers." By 614 his generals were in Syria, and they probably recalled the ambition of the first Chosroes, "whose purpose was to lead his army straight on Palestine in order that he might plunder all their treasures, and especially those in Jerusalem. For he had it from hearsay that this was an especially goodly land and peopled by wealthy inhabitants." ⁵

Thanks to Belisarius, and to the plague, Justinian had avoided the contest with the Persians. But Phocas was no great leader. The Persians pressed on in hordes, and in 614 an army, led by Shahr-Barz, entered Palestine through the Lebanon passes. Another force under Rasmiz, having destroyed Damascus, marched to Banias, and passing through Tiberias to Beisan cleared the mountains of Judea of enemy troops. Here apparently the Persians joined forces, and recruited the Jews.

Aided by a wealthy Jew of Tiberias, one Benjamin, who is credited with having helped to finance the campaign, twenty-six thousand Galilean Jews from Tiberias, Nazareth, and what remained of Sepphoris, joined the Persians. The Samaritans came out of their hiding places in Cæsarea to guide the troops. Those of Sebaste and Nablus followed. Even the Nestorians, the intellectual factor of the period, are said to have aided the Persian forces.

Meanwhile, the desert Arabs came down on the monks in their cells by the Dead Sea, and slew all those who did not flee. The victorious army, destroying all churches they came across, marched on Jerusalem, which offered considerable resistance. To the aid of the beleaguering army came Jews, hitherto quiescent and unknown, from the southland and even from Cyprus. The belief had spread among them that Chosroes would conquer Jerusalem in their interest, and that they were fighting once again for the independence of Judea.

Phocas' persecutions forced the Jews to turn to Chosroes. "Christianity had become their mortal enemy and the resurrection of Mazdakism * rendered their existence precarious." *

The Christian population locked itself firmly within the high walls, and the Persians had to make a breach before they could gain admittance. In the annals of a Christian Arab ⁷ the siege, though it lasted only eighteen days, in many particulars witnessed a repetition of the methods employed by Titus' army. The breach of the wall was finally effected by firing the supports of a tunnel which the Persians dug to undermine it. In the defense of the breach eighteen hundred men fell. The inhabitants were literally put to the sword. Between fifty and sixty thousand persons, of all ages and of both sexes, fell victims in the sack of the city, and thirty-five thousand were taken prisoners. The greatest slaughter took place at the Birket Mamilla, into which twenty-four thousand five hundred and eighteen nuns, monks, and priests were penned and killed. The Jews admittedly aided in this great slaughter.

The monasteries, hospices, and oratories were put to the flames. The churches on Mount Zion, the Church of Mary, the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, the Church of St. George, the Church of St. Sophia, and the tomb of the Empress Eudocia were destroyed or ruined. The precious ornaments of the Herodian temple, and the Cross which had been buried in a golden coffer in a garden, but which was dug up, were carefully collected, and sent to Ctesiphon. But all other golden ornaments were melted down and turned into coin.

The one privilege accorded the defeated was that the Patriarch Zacharias and a chosen band of Christians were permitted to escort the relics to the distant capital of the conqueror.

Jerusalem being laid waste, the plundering and destroying army paused only, on its course through Palestine, to kill monks and uproot churches and other religious edifices. Sending the main body of his army forward to conquer Egypt, Shahr-Barz remained in Palestine to 616, before he followed

* The Mazdakites were an ascetic communistic religious sect, who practiced extreme vegetarianism, but who are accused of having also practiced the communal ownership of women.—Edward G. Browne, *A Literary History of Persia*, New York, 1902, p. 171.

his troops to Egypt. In the meantime, a band of Jews and Persians had gone north and attacked Tyre, where four thousand Jews were living. The besiegers were repulsed, but they "destroyed all the churches at Tyre which stood without the citadel. But whensoever they destroyed any church the inhabitants of Tyre took a hundred of the Jews whom they held captive, set them on the top of the citadel, cut off their heads, and cast them over the walls. In this manner they slew two thousand." ^s

There are no details of the Persian rule in Palestine from 614 to 628, but a reference to the augmentation of the revenues of Palestine and Syria, forwarded to Chosroes, and to some building operations, suggest that the monarch planned permanent possession of the country.

III

Phocas, whose dastardly act was Chosroes' excuse for the war, was disposed of in an insurrection headed, in 610, by Heraclius. This comparatively unknown officer of Syrian ancestry, "strong and broad shouldered, with grey dominating eyes, white skin, blond hair, and a long and well combed beard," appeared with a fleet before Constantinople. The citizens joined him in rebellion, and, organizing an army, Heraclius fought Phocas through Palestine. The emperor was defeated, captured, and beheaded. Heraclius, "the new Moses, the new Alexander," was awarded the crown, and his chief assistants were richly rewarded.

Plague broke out in Byzantium, and during its ravages the Persians captured Jerusalem and obtained possession of Egypt. They came slowly towards the gates of Constantinople, and holding Alexandria, the food emporium of Byzantium, were able to starve the inhabitants of the capital; the Avari rose to the north, and, by 619, not only stood before Constantinople but almost captured the emperor. The Byzantians, who thus saw their empire shattered and their ruler stripped of all power, were for years numb and helpless.

The whole western empire was in the hands of the Slavs, Lombards, and Visigoths. The world was passing through a

high tide of blood-letting. Most countries were so saturated with cruelties and butcheries, that the sacking of Jerusalem and the slaughter of tens of thousands of its inhabitants could not have impressed contemporaries anywhere. They knew the like at close hand.

Heraclius made a suppliant's appeal to Chosroes; that demented monarch, or his officers, in response, killed the Byzantine ambassadors. This act nerved Heraclius to a great effort. The sense of despair in the eastern church and in the empire, suggested to him the life and death struggle presented by the Persian in Palestine, and the Cross in Persia. The great revenues of the empire had disappeared; the provinces that produced them were in enemy hands. He borrowed from the church for what was the first crusade. A great loan was made him, for which the immense treasures of the church in Constantinople were melted down, and minted into coin. But a condition was imposed upon him: that he repay it with interest after the war. This annual amortization, it is said, weighed down his spirit in after years, and rendered him incapable of great action in the second crisis of his reign. Now he raised an army of Greeks and Barbarians, and drilled them a whole year before he began the actual war against Chosroes, who had reviled and taunted him.

A letter * from the Persian monarch began: "The noblest of the gods, the king, and master of the whole earth, the son of the great Dromazes, Chosroes, to Heraclius, his vile and insensate slave." The taunt ran: "You say you have trust in God; why then has he not delivered out of my hand Cæsarea, Jerusalem, and Alexandria?" *

In 622 Heraclius shipped his troops to Syria, and himself sailed for Cilicia, and in the plain of Issus completely routed an army sent against him. By an alliance with Ziebel, Khan of the Khazars, who dominated the Caucasus to the Ural Mountains, and to whom Heraclius gave one of his daughters, Ephania Eudocia, for wife, he captured the north of Asia Minor, crossed the Urals, and carried his army to Ispahan,

* Similar language is quoted in a letter to Mohammad.—Edward G. Browne, *A Literary History of Persia*, New York, 1902.

where he defeated the main body of the Persians, commanded by Chosroes himself. By 627 he was on the Tigris, overthrew the Persian army, and captured an immense quantity of booty. The half-mad Chosroes fled, but he was captured by his own son, Siroes, who immured him in "the castle of forgetfulness." Chosroes was starved to death and Siroes, on his accession, made a peace with Heraclius, in which he gave up all the Persian conquests and returned the relics prized by the Christian faithful. Thus, for the first time in its history, Palestine was recaptured without a battle on its own soil.

The wealth of Chosroes was probably as much exaggerated as his evil disposition, and his possession of ten thousand wives and concubines. His most beloved wife, the daughter of the Emperor Maurice, may have influenced him to treat the Christian captives kindly and permit Modestus to repair the churches of Jerusalem. For that prelate sent a thousand artisans from Egypt, with much money to restore the edifices. An Armenian description of the Holy Places, dated about 660, shows that Modestus rebuilt the Churches of the Resurrection, of the Cross, and of Golgotha.¹⁰ Leontius, the biographer of Modestus, relates that the bishop also sent one thousand pounds of iron for the repair work and a thousand sacks of wheat, the same of pulse and of dried fish, and as many skins of wine, for the relief of the inhabitants.

It was not, however, until September 629 that Heraclius, "clothed in mean garments, and barefoot, carrying on his shoulder," the cherished symbol of Christianity, entered the Holy City. This event, so momentous at the time, had almost fatal consequences for the Jews of the empire. Besant observes grimly: "The restoration of the cross was accompanied by revenge taken against the Jews."¹¹ A churchman amplifies by saying, Heraclius "sullied the triumph of his self-abasement by a sanguinary retaliation on the Jews to which he was instigated by the fears or the fury of the Christians."¹² Another historian is more specific. "The Jews . . . were massacred in Palestine; they were massacred also at Edessa, and were forced to flee to Arabia."¹³ A Jewish historian adds more laconically: "Only a few Jews found safety in Egypt."¹⁴

Behind the slaughter, which accounts for the serious diminution of the number of Jews in Palestine for several centuries, is the story of the breaking of a pledge, the memory of which was kept alive for three centuries. On his way to Jerusalem, Heraclius was entertained in princely fashion by Benjamin of Tiberias, who had organized the Jews in support of Chosroes II. This shrewd protector of his people, who, according to some accounts, was later in the stress of persecution induced to be baptized, extracted from Heraclius a pledge that the Jews should suffer no reprisals for their share in the siege and sack of Jerusalem. Heraclius hated the Jews. In 614 he "initiated an anti-Jewish movement throughout Europe. A treaty which he made with Sisibut, the Visigothic king of Spain . . . contained the stipulation that Sisibut should compel the Jews in Spain to become Christians. And six years later in his negotiations with the Frank king, Dagobert, he induced that monarch to adopt the policy of persecution. According to Fredegarius, Heraclius discovered by the aid of astrology that the Roman empire was destined to be blotted out by circumcised people, and therefore he sent Dagobert an order, or a request, that he baptize and convert all the Jews in his kingdom. . . . Moreover, Heraclius made the same ordinance in all the provinces of the empire, for he knew not whence the disaster was to come." ¹⁵

Notwithstanding these fears, he entered on the engagement with Benjamin, to spare the Jews. Modestus, however, disagreeing with the emperor, clamored for the complete annihilation of all Jews in the empire as a reprisal for their share in the capture of Jerusalem in 614. He absolved the emperor from his oath to Benjamin. As penance for this violation of the imperial oath the Coptic Christians, to the tenth century, observed the "Fasts of Heraclius." The remnant of the Jews also observed a special fast associated with the name of Heraclius. It recalled the massacre which followed Modestus' absolution of the Emperor. ¹⁶

As a final punishment the Jews were forbidden to settle in Jerusalem. Apparently the ordinance was more honored in the breach than in the observance. For seven years later, when

the alleged forecast of the astrologer that conquest would rest with a circumcised people was fulfilled to the letter, there were Jews in Jerusalem who witnessed and participated in the greatest change in the history of their ancient city.

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- ⁴ Couret, p. 211.
- ⁵ Procopius, II, xx.
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- ⁷ From a Christian Arab Latin MS. in the Bibliothèque Nationale, no. 262, folio 140-153. Quoted by Couret, in *La Prise de Jérusalem par les Perses en 616*, Orléans, 1896.
- ⁸ Eutyches, P.P.T.S., X, 39-40.
- ⁹ Bury, II, p. 220.
- ¹⁰ Translated from the Russian of Patkanor, by R. Nisbet Bard, P.E.F., Q.S., 1896-7, p. 34.
- ¹¹ Besant, p. 71.
- ¹² Williams, I, p. 305.
- ¹³ Bury, II, p. 247.
- ¹⁴ Samuel Krauss.
- ¹⁵ Bury, II, p. 215.
- ¹⁶ Gustave Holscher, *Die Geschichte der Juden in Palästina seit dem Jahr 70*, Leipzig, 1909, p. 28.

CHAPTER VI

THE COMING OF THE CRESCENT—629 TO 750

THE rise of Mohammad could not have been unknown to Heraclius during his campaign against Chosroes, nor could it have escaped the notice of those of his generals who penetrated the heart of Persia and traversed all of Mesopotamia. For in 629 when Heraclius, outwardly so humble, entered Jerusalem, Greek regiments heard at Muta the new war cry of the Arabs. Though victorious, the Christians experienced the bitterness of much slaughter at the hands of a new leader, whose name epitomized a new faith, Khalid al-Walid, "the Sword of God." It was, however, beyond human prescience to imagine that the new-found faith of a camel driver would stir the imagination of the turbulent desert tribes to a fanaticism which would change the world, and not only drive the West out of the East, but eventually bring a good deal of the West under the heel of the victorious Orient. The contemporary picture offered no such foreboding, for, inspired by their conversion to their new-found faith, the followers of Islam were fighting among themselves and with the Persians, for mastery. A desert storm would end in its sands!

In Palestine the advance guard of a new order of Arabian affairs had made its presence known in 624, when six hundred Jews from Kainukaa, in Arabia, resettled at Adr'at (Der'at), and in Jericho. A year later, another band of Jewish refugees came from Nadhir, and added themselves to the population of Jericho. They had fled before the wrath of a prophet who offered the sword or his gospel, as alternatives, and to whom Jews, Christians, and Nestorians were alike the contemptible "People of the Book." *

* In some of the old texts the phrase reads in the plural, "peoples."

While the origin of Islam from Judaism is far more than a hypothesis,¹ from the moment he found the Jews unwilling to accept his gospel, Mohammad was as inimical to them as to all other non-believers. Proclaiming the sanctity of Arabia he drove the Jews and the Greeks, and all other strangers from his holy land. These refugees must have brought news westward of the Islamic ferment. They could not have appreciated the idea that Mohammad's concept of the Sacred Rock in Jerusalem, as the earthly contact-point with Heaven, would lead him, or his followers, to cross the intervening desert to possess what, in the eyes of the Christians, was the most undesirable object in the Holy City. Nor could they have known that the camel driver longed for the well-watered and fertile plains of Syria and Palestine. He had resisted the charms of Damascus, "exclaiming, 'man can enter Paradise but once,' he turned sorrowfully back, and in that moment changed the fortunes of the world."²

So little, indeed, was this appreciated that when Heraclius retired from his successful campaign against the Persians, the eastern frontier of Palestine, the indefinite line of the Syrian desert, was held by tribes of mixed origin, but dominantly of Arab blood,³ who had been converted to Christianity by the abbots and monks who followed in the wake of the Greek army. Upon their loyalty to church and empire depended the security of Palestine from invasion. The doubtful character of these guardians of the frontier showed itself in a rising in 582, and in the land of the Ghassanides there was continual trouble. When, after 629, the fall in the imperial revenue rendered economy necessary, the tribes that held the eastern and southern borders were not paid their annual allowance. This, in their judgment, released them from all obligations. The slender line yielded and crumbled when the new and conquering force came from the east. The readiness with which a great number of the Christianized Arabs swung to the new gospel and to its promise of loot, equitably divided, confirm the Syriac chronicles, which admit that the population preferred Arab to Byzantine rule.

Before this new enemy Byzantium was almost supine.

"Heraclius no longer had faith in God . . . and the Greeks had no faith in Heraclius." His struggle against Chosroes was a brilliant effort; thereafter he was a spent force. For he stood alone amid the welter of chaos which made the great Muslim opportunity. "The mighty fabric of empire, which valor and policy had founded upon the seven hills of Rome," "had been overthrown by the barbarians at the end of the fifth century. Byzantium merely held the East until new-grown forces rose to dispute its authority. The interminable theological squabbles, which make the long record of exchanges between Rome, Jerusalem, Constantinople and Alexandria, during the three centuries in which, following Constantine's policy, Jerusalem was the pivot of Christian statecraft, served best as a paper screen, hiding the decay of the physical power needed to maintain a firm hold over the finest and most lucrative of the Byzantine provinces.⁵ The ruins of many of those towns and villages, whose comfortable and well-designed, middle-class dwellings still surprise the traveller, date from the fourth century.

What Palestine was to the Flavian Romans it remained to the Byzantines, with, if anything, larger revenues, and with more lucrative posts for an immense army of officials, military and civil. In addition, it had become a church-dominated world. That great plan worked successfully. The adventurers of the new statecraft were monks and abbots. Yet, in one fell swoop, church and provinces were lost.

To Mohammad, and to his successors, the most important of all their conquests, after the winning of Medina, was the conquest of Syria. It was a sure storehouse of food, and it opened the way to the sea. In the year eight of the Hegira, an army of three thousand men were sent, under Khalid, to the Belka, to punish the Syrians. He met Heraclius' forces, under Theodor, at Muta, at the southern end of the Dead Sea. The Muslims fought like lions, but they were hopelessly outnumbered. A year later fresh preparations were made for an invasion of Syria, and the Prophet himself accompanied his forces some distance, on what has been described as the romantic quest. The effort was abandoned, once the Muslims had

gained free access to halfway on the great trade route to Damascus, and had converted the local tribes to Islam. When, therefore, Mohammad bequeathed to his father-in-law the task of capturing Palestine, there was at stake the prestige of new power among the tribes who yielded obedience; and the taking of Jamnia on the Palestinean coast—the goal selected—was a matter of great pride to the Arab leaders.

Heraclius, once the intrepid hero of Christendom, was not equal to the new effort which the occasion demanded. In the first serious onset his hastily organized troops were worsted, and he, himself, was lost in the mazes of doctrinal dispute and the luxurious life of Constantinople and Antioch. It was from the latter city that he patiently and weakly watched the loss of his empire to a "circumcised host." He realized to the full the life and death struggle in which he defended the Cross against the Crescent, but not even with the aid of monks, holding crosses aloft on the battle field, could he inspire his officers to lead a victorious charge.

On the other side was the zeal of a new faith, and the prospect of passing, in death on the battle field, into the arms of two ravishing maidens who, removing the sweat and grime from the dying face, would, with alluring charm, attend the warrior on his swift trip to that Paradise where sensual blandishments would be eternal. For those who survived there was equal division of the loot. It is on record that during the first campaigns for Allah even the enslaved Arabs shared equally in the rich rewards. To the tent-dwelling Arab, poor in the world's goods, ignorant of most luxury, terror-stricken, at first, by that strange beast, the elephant, the prospect of wealth, east and west, showers of "pieces of gold," fine raiment, and processions of slave women, were a great intoxication. Morally, the forces were unequally matched.

On the side of the Arabs was the great leadership of the "Three Companions"—Abu Bekr, 'Omar, and Abu 'Obeidah. Whatever their personal failings they were unquestionably men of sterling worth, marked by great impersonal interest in the success of their faith, convinced of the righteousness of their cause, far-sighted, and supremely honest. Standing around the

bier of the Prophet, in Medina, on June 8, 632, they accepted an obligation that affected world history, and changed even the physical appearance of Palestine. They made a brief, golden page in Arabian history.

The church, which had so much at stake, was sect-ridden, and so dull in comprehension that the treasures of Constantinople were only minted into coin on condition that the advances were to be repaid, with interest, after the war. "The conscience of the emperor was oppressed by the obligation of restoring the wealth of the clergy which he had borrowed for their own defense; a perpetual fund was required to satisfy these inexorable creditors." ⁶

II

Abu Bekr, sixty years old, a short, lean and stooping man, the first successor of Mohammad, accepted, therefore, as his duty, in 632, the task of capturing Syria. The campaign was, however, conducted intermittently, because the caliph's forces had to fight on three fronts—Syria, Persia and Mesopotamia. In Syria the forces were divided into three parts, so that the battle raged at one moment in southern Palestine, at another in the neighborhood of Damascus, and then again along the coastal plain. The Islamic forces, on one front, had repeatedly to wait for aid from other troops, so that Bozrah, in the Hauran, which was surrendered by its governor, Romanus, as well as Damascus, Gaza, and Tyre, were captured twice. Most of the coastal plain yielded easily, while weak places, like Bethlehem, held out, and Cæsarea, the official capital of Palestine, was the last to fall.

The first Islamic effort was, however, little better than a foray. Usama, the brother of Haritha ibn Sa'id, who fell at Muta, was given charge of a small force to ravage the Belka and to proceed to Jamnia. "When a people leaveth off to fight in the ways of the Lord, the Lord casteth off that people," was Abu Bekr's gospel, and he sent letters to the inhabitants of Mecca, Taif, and the Yemen, and to all the Arabs of the Hejas and of the Nejd, to join his forces. He thus assembled three divisions, each of three thousand men, under Khalid ibn Sa'id,

'Ikrima ibn Abu Jahl, and Al-Walid ibn Okba. Khalid proceeded south, and defeated a Greek force, led by Baanes. The Greeks retreated north; another engagement was fought, in 633, east of Lake Tiberias. Khalid was superseded in command by Yezid ibn Abu Sufian, and two other forces under the direction of Shur-abhil ibn Hasana and 'Amr ibn al-'As, the military commander-in-chief, were hurried to the front.

To these commanders Abu Bekr gave ten significant orders for the conduct of the campaign: "Deceive none, and steal from none; betray none, and mutilate none; kill no child, nor woman, nor aged man; neither bark, nor burn, the date palms; cut not down fruit trees, nor destroy crops; slaughter not flocks, cattle, nor camels, except for food. You will fall in with some men with shaven crowns; smite them with the sword. You will also meet with men living in cells; leave them alone in that which they have devoted themselves." "

A real campaign was planned. 'Amr went south, to Elath (Aqaba) on the Gulf; Yezid and Shur-abhil went north, towards Syria, the latter deploying his forces towards Damascus. Determined on victory, Abu Bekr sent forward a still greater Arab chieftain, Abu 'Obeidah ibn Jarrah, so that, by April, 634, twenty-four thousand men were engaged in the conquest of Palestine. Of the famous "Companions," about a thousand in number served with three hundred men of Bedras as "shock" troops. The population wearied of the exactions of the Byzantines, and encouraged by the scrupulous conduct of the Arabs, welcomed the invaders. Sergius, governor of Cæsarea, heading three thousand men, went south to meet the army of 'Amr. They clashed on the ridge of the Arabah. The Greeks were defeated. Both forces raced across the desert of the Tih, the one to defend, the other to attack Gaza. The Greeks, this time, were routed some twelve miles east of Gaza, and their general killed. Cautious 'Amr, however, withdrew to the Arabah, and waited for reinforcements. Meanwhile, Khalid had swept through Palmyra and, passing Damascus, joined his fellow generals in an attack on the Hauran, and hurried through the Belka into Palestine. The commander of

Bozrah having capitulated, the whole army moved south to join 'Amr.

The Greeks at length recognized that they had to cope with more than the customary Bedouin forays. An army of two hundred and forty thousand men was raised, and of these, seventy thousand, under Werden, were sent south. The contending armies met at Ajnadain, between Ramleh and Beit Jibrin (Eleutheropolis), one of the blood-drenched areas of Palestine, on July 21, 634. Theodore, brother of the emperor, was ignominiously beaten, and the wounded fled to Jerusalem, the Patriarch of which had, from 632, sent disconsolate messages to powerless Rome.

The population offered no resistance. The Arabs occupied Gaza, Sebaste, Nablus, Lydda, Jaffa, Beit Jibrin, and Emmaus. Gradually the Arab forces worked their way east of Jerusalem, and, by Christmas, Sophronius lamented that the pilgrimages to Bethlehem had become impossible, for the road was in the possession of the enemy. So far no spoil was taken by the invaders, but they enforced the payment of poll and land taxes.

Heraclius, away north in Syria, made another desperate attempt to reorganize his forces. Making Beisan their headquarters he despatched a new army which crossed the Jordan, probably at Jisr El Mujamieh, and endeavored to stop the forward movement of the Arabs by turning the springs, and thus creating a huge swamp which the Arab cavalry could not cross. The trick hemmed in the Greeks. They could not prevent the Arabs taking Pella and all the towns included in the Decapolis, in Trans-Jordan, in January, 635. The country was well stocked with provisions, and the Arabs rested here for several months, without further fighting.

III

At this juncture Abu Bekr died. His successor was 'Omar ibn-al-Khattab; "not only sagacious and wise, but throughout his life simple, consistent and sincere,"^a a brilliant and patient general, not only the most remarkable member of the great Arab triumvirate but a personality that shares with Saladin, who freely copied him, a thousand Muslim and Christian

legends that depict courtesy, chivalry, great faith, and nobility. Arab writers dwell lovingly on the great Caliph whose soldier's simplicity amazed the Greeks sent to parley with the master of the east. The shelter of a tent was his palace, and a mat stretched on the sand served as his sleeping couch. A hair bridle was all that adorned his camel. Even his officers were abashed at his rude equipment, and it is related that one of them failed to recognize 'Omar, as he rode modestly among the troops. Humility was his creed, the fear of God his only pride.

'Omar accepted Mohammad's word in all things. This was his law. Arabia was to him, therefore, sacrosanct, and the defilement of non-Islamic and non-Arabic peoples was rigorously removed from it. Palestine and Syria were sacred, as lands of which the Prophet had spoken. Before Mohammad had discovered the virtues of the Ka'aba at Mecca, Jerusalem was the place to which he turned in prayer. Mohammad's stories of Jerusalem weighed heavily on 'Omar. Therefore, what Abu Bekr had begun, must, at the Prophet's behest, be completed.

Till the new Caliph gave the signal the Arabs remained peacefully encamped in the Byzantine civilization of half-Greek, half-Arab Trans-Jordan. Its luxuries impressed them. In March, 635, they captured Damascus, and all those who were not needed for the Persian war camped on the Orontes. Many miles to the north, on that same river, at Antioch, Heraclius was holding lavish court.

By the spring of 636, when the war in Syria was renewed, the Arabs, by their conduct, had won the friendship of the inhabitants. When they withdrew from Emesa, the Muslims "returned the taxes which they had collected, since they were no longer able to fulfil their part of the bargain, the guaranteeing of security of life and property." The inhabitants thereupon freely offered to help resist the advance of the forces of Heraclius. The Jews are related to have "sworn on the Torah" that the Byzantine governor should not enter the town, and closed the gates. Other towns, similarly treated, held to a middle course, but promised to accept the Arabs freely as masters, if they won. Christian heretics, too, were more hopeful of

the new Arab rule than of continuing under the tyranny of the Empire.

This encouragement permitted the Arabs to retire to the Hauran, before the advance of the new army assembled by Heraclius. The imperial army was composed of Greeks, Armenians, and Christian Syrians, led by Theodore, the Sakellarius, his aide being Georgius, chief of the Armenians. Djabala ibn al-Aikham, a Ghassanite prince, commanded. The armies clashed at the Yarmuk on July 23, 636. The Sakellarius died in battle; another general fled to Mount Sinai. When the news of the disaster reached Heraclius in Antioch, he exclaimed, "Farewell Syria, my fairest province. Thou art an enemy's now," and left for Constantinople. It was a strange echoing of one of 'Omar's sayings: "a village of Palestine is dearer to me than a great city of Medina." *

By the swift torrent that flows west into the Jordan the decisive battle, in which two hundred and forty thousand Greeks and forty thousand Arabs met, was fought. During the onslaught, fatal for the Greeks, "the women were placed in the rear. The Greeks charged so courageously, and with such vast numbers, that the right wing of the Saracen host was quite borne down and broken off from the main body of the army. But no sooner did they turn their backs but they were so warmly received by the women who used them so ill and loaded 'em with such plenty of reproaches, that they were glad to return, every man to his post, and chose rather to face the enemy than endure the storm."⁹ Forty thousand Greeks were slain, many of them drowned in the Yarmuk. The whole army marched into Palestine.¹⁰ The tide of battle rolled back to Syria; Antioch and Aleppo were captured; Homs and Hamath fell; and the war in Palestine was renewed. The Arabs won, and gradually menaced Jerusalem. Its walls were repaired, and the inhabitants inspired to resistance by Bishop Sophronius.

Jerusalem was invested by Yezid ibn Abu Sufian, with five thousand Arabs. Abu 'Obeidah brought up the main body of the troops eleven days later. 'Amr hastened to the scene with

* Jalal Aldin (Reynolds' translation, p. 401) phrases the sentiment thus: "By God, some of the villages of Syria . . . are more beloved by me than the borough-towns of Iraq."

his victorious southern army. The city contained twelve thousand Greeks and fifty thousand natives. Sophronius exhorted his flock "to pray God to vouchsafe such strength to the Imperial arms, that they might crush the pride of the Barbarians who, on account of our sins, have suddenly invaded us, and are wasting all things with wild and ruthless fury, with profane and impious daring." From the banks of the Jordan the Arab general had offered these terms of capitulation:

"In the name of God, merciful and gracious! From Abu 'Obeidah ibn-el-Jirah, to the Christians of the people of Ælia, Health! And to all who follow the right way, and believe in God and his Prophet! To come to the point! For my part I beg you to bear witness that there is no God but God, and Mohammad is the Apostle of God; and that the moment of judgment will come beyond all doubt and that God will raise men from the dead. And if you will stand to this your blood is sacred unto us as well as your property, and your children, and you shall be to us as brothers; but if you refuse, I will bring down upon you a people more earnest in their love of death than you in the drinking of wine, or eating of hog's flesh, nor will I ever pass away from you, please God, until I have killed your warriors and made captive your children." *

The Christians, led by Sophronius, refused to surrender the city. The Arabs, on the other hand,¹¹ had no means of assaulting the walls, and were religiously opposed to capturing the city by assault, if it could be induced to capitulate. Both sides suffered during the five months' siege. At length the Patriarch offered to capitulate, provided the Caliph accepted the surrender of the city in person.

A messenger, accompanied by some representatives of the Jerusalem Christians, was despatched to Medina, and after some hesitation, 'Omar, "Commander of the Faithful, wearing a sheepskin cloak and a cotton shirt, his saddle bags filled with simple provisions, a large leather water bottle and a wooden platter affixed to his camel girths, and followed by four thousand men, crossed the desert." The terms of the capitulation were drafted at Al-Jabiya, a village near Damascus. When he came within sight of the Holy City, 'Omar exclaimed: "*Ullah*

* This and the terms of capitulation rest on the authority of Abu'rrahman ibn-Tamin, and are quoted by all later Islamic historians in the same words.

Acher (God is great). O God give us an easy conquest." He then pitched his tent on the Mount of Olives and awaited response to his terms which read: *

"In the name of God, merciful compassionate! The following are the terms of capitulation, which I 'Omar the servant of God, the commander of the faithful, grant to the people of Ælia. I grant them security for their lives, their possessions, and their children; their churches, their crosses, and all that appertains to them, in their integrity, and their lands—to all their religion. Their churches shall not be impoverished, nor destroyed, nor injured; neither their endowments nor their dignity; and nothing of their property, neither shall the inhabitants of Jerusalem be exposed to violence for following their religion; nor shall one of them be injured; nor shall one of the Jews be impoverished in Ælia. It is stipulated with the people of Ælia that they pay a tribute according to the tribute paid by the people of other cities. Moreover the Greeks and robbers shall depart therefrom, with security for their life and property. . . . And whoever there be of the people of the land who wish to reside therein, upon them is the same tribute as upon the people of Ælia. And whosoever wishes to go with the Greeks, or return to his land, from him shall be taken nothing of the stores of his magazines. And of all this may God be the Ratifier! and be this the covenant of his Apostle (upon whom be the blessing and peace of God!) and the covenant of the orthodox Caliphs if they yield possession."¹²

The tribute was five dinars for the richest class; four upon the next; three upon the next. Very old men and very young children did not pay. Three days were assigned for the departure of the Greeks.

IV

In his tattered garment of camel's hair the aged Caliph entered the city of the Prophet's dreams. He moved as a man responding to an oft-repeated vision. The Patriarch, Sophronius, met him with a bitter greeting: "Verily this is the abomination of desolation, spoken by Daniel, the prophet, standing in the holy place." 'Omar smiled. To him this was a compliment, for it showed that his conquest was ordained by Holy Writ. At the Tower of David he paused, and prostrated him-

* One authority gives four countersignatures to this rescript: Khalid-ibn-al-Walid; Abu'rrahman ibn-Uf; Muaoh-ibn-Jabil; Mu'awiya-ibn-Abu Sufian.

self in prayer. He asked to be taken to the Temple. Sophronius directed his steps to the Church of the Holy Sepulchre. 'Omar denied it was the Temple. He refused to pray there, fearing that, once he entered, his ardent followers would seize it, and take it from the Christians. Explaining what he sought, he was told that the Sacred Rock would only be reached by crawling through the city sewer, and by wading through a water conduit. Crawling on hands and knees, the Caliph went through the sewer till he emerged on a high level space atop of a hill encumbered with ruins. Surveying the scene, he identified it as confirming Mohammad's report.

"In insult towards the sons of Israel" the Greeks had converted the Unhewn Stone into a dunghill.* The zealous Caliph, to whom this Rock was "the very first corner that was created of the whole earth," set the example in cleansing it. He scooped up the filth, and carried it away in his robe. In this act he was warmly imitated by his officers. Then employing the "Nabad-hæi of Palestine," the ordure was removed to the neighboring valley, outside the city, and the sacred site purified and sanctified. Around this rock 'Omar built his mosque, the Mosque of 'Omar, which later gave way to its celebrated successor, the present Dome of the Rock.

"On this spot where the Temple once stood, near the eastern wall, the Saracens have now erected a square house of prayer, in a rough manner, by raising beams and planks upon some remains of old ruins; this is their place of worship, and it is said it will hold some three thousand men." †

The Arabs had captured no mean city, for from Arculf's description, written fifty years later, Jerusalem had eighty-four towers supporting its walls, and six gates. "On September 15th,

* Sa'id ibn Abouil Aziz's statement as to the use made of the place is fully confirmed from Christian sources. Eutychius, a Church historian in the fifth century, wrote, "When Helena, the mother of Constantine, had built churches at Jerusalem, the site of the rock, and its neighborhood had been laid waste and so left. But the Christians heaped dirt on the rock so that there was a large dunghill over it."

† This is the first description of 'Omar's mosque, written by Bishop Arculf, who visited Jerusalem in the reign of Mu'awiya (657-705). The Chronicles of Theophanes contain many other particulars. But as his dates are wrong, and it is well established that 'Omar visited Palestine only once, after 637, the hearsay reports may be safely dismissed.

annually, an immense multitude of people of different nations are used to meet in Jerusalem for the purpose of commerce." At that date, the country, from Jerusalem to Cæsarea, was covered with olive yards, while Jericho blossomed with cornfields and vineyards, and the Jericho valley luxuriated in palm trees. In Jerusalem, Arculf "observed a lofty column in the holy place to the north, which at midday, at the summer solstice, casts no shadow, which shows that this is the center of the earth." *

Who the fifty thousand "natives" were when 'Omar took possession is not clear. The departure of the Greeks, and the payment of the tribute, or fine, is fully recorded. The terms of the capitulation were fulfilled to the letter. Sophronius remained Patriarch after the departure of the Greeks, but led a much attenuated body of communicants. At his death the Patriarchate was removed, first to Jaffa, and later to Dora. Eventually the Christians of Jerusalem were directed from Philadelphia (Amman). Within the restrictions imposed upon them by what is known as the Code of 'Omar, though only part of it relates to his period, the Christians lived at comparative ease, though wholly subordinated. Theophanes records a series of insurrections which cost many lives, both in Jerusalem and Antipatris, after 'Omar's reign, but, on the whole, these risings were due to the participation of the Christian population in the political and dynastic struggles of the period, and were in no sense the result of religious persecutions.¹³

Christian Palestine disappears for a time in a maze of quarrels. The bishops hectored one another over the superiority of their respective sees; ¹⁴ burning animosities were engendered by Arius, Pelagius, and other heretics. In the battle of words one can trace the ideology of every known variety of modern Christian sect, but the verbal storms had no direct influence on life in Palestine.

V

After his conquest of Jerusalem 'Omar directed Yezid ibn Abu Sufian to subdue the maritime cities. Abu 'Obeidah was

* A number of pilgrims refer to this dial erected as a literal interpretation of Psalm lxxiv, 12.

commissioned to capture northern Syria. Aleppo having capitulated, its commander turned Muslim, and undertook the recapture of Tyre. He and his men were ambushed, however, and Abu Sufian took the town. Religious freedom had been granted by 'Omar to all the population, but the masses soon lapsed from Christianity to Islam, "in order to acquire the rights and privileges of Muslim citizens."¹⁵

The code, as enforced by Mu'awiya, compelled all non-Muslims to wear a stripe of yellow. It prohibited them riding on horseback, directed them to use wooden stirrups, when riding mules, and forbade them erecting standing tombstones in their cemeteries. Their children could not be taught by Muslim teachers; they could aspire to no office of authority or of trust; nor could they build new houses of worship, or display religious symbols in public.*

Administratively the Arabs broadly continued the divisions organized by the Romans and by the Byzantine monarchs. The really important changes were the relocation of the centers of government within the provinces, not the contraction or expansion of areas. Under the Arabs (1) Filastin was equivalent to Palæstina Prima, which comprised Judea and Samaria. But the Arabs abandoned Cæsarea as the capital, and until the plague drove them from it, made Emmaus their capital. They next settled in Lydda as the chief city, but the Arabs made their one contribution to Palestine towns by founding Er-Ramleh (Ramleh), and made it the headquarters of the province; (2) Palæstina Secunda, with Beisan as its capital, and comprising both Lower and Upper Galilee, with part of Perea, became the Jordan Jund, with Tiberias as its capital. (3) Palæstina Tertia, or Salutaris, was divided between the Damascus Jund and Filastin. The most vital change effected—and this had a

* Jalal-Aldin quotes Abu'rrahman ibn-Tamin as authority for the statement that the Syrian Christians themselves proposed many of these restrictions, as conditions for their capitulation to 'Omar's generals. This, however, seems doubtful. Later Arabic literature indicates a peculiar horror at the ringing of church bells, and at the striking of clappers for the same purpose, viz., summoning people to prayer. 'Omar could never have heard these sounds, and the Christians could hardly have desired to suppress their favorite symbols. Inherently therefore the Code of 'Omar is the accretion of regulations designed during the century that followed the capture of Jerusalem, when Muslims and Christians were dwelling, side by side, in Syria, and Palestine.

permanent influence on the destinies of the country—was the aggrandizement of the authority of Damascus. It became the center of the Damascus Jund which embraced what had been Phœnicia Prima, with Tyre as the capital, and all of Phœnicia Secundus. The provinces to the north, though distinctly Syrian, were, at times, regarded as part of Palestine. The divisions were not, however, permanent, and are more impressive in the tax records than in the civil, or military, phases of administration. A good deal of overlapping was due to the creation of many subdivisions of the Junds. The system of taxation introduced was simple, and for its operation a land register was compiled. The whole country was made public domain. The occupant was entitled to the usufruct, for which he paid, annually, in produce, a ground rent (*kharadj*).

The cleared land, settled by Muslim, was tithable, and paid *'ushr*; but the lands held by treaty, and termed *kharadjiya*, paid a similar tax. The military district of the Jordan, with its seat at Damascus and its local capital at Tiberias, embracing Tyre to Acre on the coast, was expected, independently of the government domains, to yield one hundred thousand dinars a year. Three times that amount was the estimate for the military district of Palestine, with its capital at Lydda, populated by Arabs, Persians, and "protected" Samaritans. This Palestine stretched from Cæsarea to Jaffa, and included Jerusalem. But the large estimate includes the rents from the government domains.¹⁶ All male Christians, Jews, and Samaritans, capable of bearing arms, paid the poll tax (*djizya*), from one to four dinars, annually, and the inhabitants, moreover, had to bivouac the soldiers on the march. The ordinances were simpler than the Roman code. Thus the "protected peoples" (*Ahl al-Dhimma*) were required (1) not to revile Islam—faith, teaching, or Prophet; (2) not to marry a Muslim woman; (3) nor convert nor injure a Muslim in life or goods; (4) nor assist the enemy, nor harbor spies. The penalty was outlawry, implying the forfeiture of life. Later the "clients" were compelled to wear the yellow patch (*Ghiyar*) and the girdle (*zanner*). Among the religious restrictions were the prohibition of reading the Scriptures in a loud voice, and the compulsion of burying

the dead silently. Such rules carried fines and imprisonment for their violation.¹⁷ The laws applied to all the non-Muslims, except the Samaritans, who were freed from the obligation of the land tax for a period of fifty years, in recognition of the services they had rendered during the war of conquest.

VI

"Thus was Syria, from the farthest north to the borders of Egypt, within the space of three years, lost to Christendom."¹⁸ The Greeks, who, subsequently, made only feeble attempts to recover their lost empire, for their own safety dismantled a broad belt to the north of Syria, and so fashioned a neutral zone between themselves and the Arabs. Except for traffic by sea, Palestine and the West were thus separated for generations.

The last place to fall was Cæsarea. 'Amr besieged it for several years. The city was eventually taken by storm in 638; a Jew led the Arab troops through an aqueduct into the town. It contained seventy thousand Greeks, thirty thousand Samaritans, and twenty thousand Jews.* After great slaughter, four thousand men and women were sent as prisoners with booty to Medina, and were there sold into slavery. The Arab historians claim the capture of Ascalon by two generals, but that town and Cæsarea were both later invaded by the Greeks, and had to be retaken. Heraclius' last attempt, in 638, to regain Syria was defeated by 'Obeidah, and on the retirement of the Greeks the land survey, as the basis of the tax system, was organized. The progress of settlement was, however, interrupted in 639 by plague and famine in Arabia. Syria contributed to Arabia four thousand ass loads of corn, and 'Amr sent food from Palestine by camel, and by ship from Aqaba, which at the time was a Christian city. The plague spread to Palestine, and the population was advised to disperse in the highlands of the Hauran. Twenty-five thousand persons perished from the epidemic, including some of the best-known and most capable of the Arab leaders.

* Gustave Weil, *Geschichte der Chalifen* (appendix i, p. 2), multiplies the population tenfold. He says Cæsarea had "seven hundred thousand men of military age, three hundred thousand Samaritans and two hundred thousand Jews and that the walls were guarded by one hundred thousand soldiers."

VII

'Omar visited Palestine during the ravages of the plague, but in order to escape infection came by way of Aqaba. He died in 644, carrying to his grave the piety, simplicity, and earnestness which made the reputation, and romance, of the "Companions" of Mohammad.

Almost immediately upon his demise the newly created empire and Islamic unity were disrupted. The empire was a loose-knit confederation of dissimilar and unrelated peoples, held together only by the magic of a great personality; when that was lacking, only a common tongue remained as a stabilizer. The religious union was not of long duration, for it soon bred doctrinal and dynastic divisions, some of which have lasted to the present day. "The Syrians (Arameans) have never constituted a closely-welded nationality, politically or otherwise."¹⁹ Of the Palestineans at this epoch we know that they were an uneven mixture of historic immigrations, though some observers find in them traces of the Canaanite and Aramean tribes of the pre-Jewish era. "Strictly speaking, the people of Palestine are Arabic-speaking and not 'Arabs.' . . . They are 'Arabs' culturally and linguistically, but not racially and biologically." * This distinction explains their partisanship for the Ommayyads, and, later, their subservient position in the struggle between Abbasides and Fatimids.

Othman, the next caliph, managed to prevent serious insurrections, but he had to raise Syrian levies in order to fight Turks and Khazars, and in his reign Mu'awiya, governor of Damascus, through Ommayyad, a descendant of the Prophet's family, began to assert his independence. In 656 Othman was murdered, and Ali, son-in-law of Mohammad, claimed the Caliphate.

Mu'awiya charged Ali with responsibility for the murder of

* Philip K. Hitti, in a footnote to Fannie Fern Andrews, *The Holy Land Under Mandate* (II, p. 33). The same view was most forcibly advanced by Miss Goodrich-Freer, *Inner Jerusalem*, p. 230: "If to speak Arabic makes an Arab, then the inhabitants of Judea are Arabs, but in no other sense." Ch. Clermont Ganneau (P.E.F., Q.S., 1875 and *La Palestine Inconnue*, Paris, 1876), was the first to advance the theory that the Canaanite stock could be traced in the existing population.

Othman, and proposed to avenge his death. Ali, thereupon, organized an army to defend his rights, but after a few unimportant skirmishes withdrew from the contest. But he, too, was assassinated, and his two sons, Hassan and El-Hosein—the paternity of the future dynastic struggles in Islam—abdicated. “The grey mule of Syria,” an able soldier with whom Palestine and Syria sympathized, raised an army of sixty thousand native levies, and had himself proclaimed caliph in Jerusalem. Mu’awiya was not an Islamic zealot, but a Syrian nationalist, as were most of the members of the dynasty he founded. Arab historians relate that after he was inducted into office he went to Golgotha, Gethsemane, and the tomb of Mary, and prayed at each of these non-Muslim shrines. Yet the Palestinians and the Syrians stood firmly by him. With Ali conveniently disposed of, Mu’awiya was acknowledged caliph of all Islam. With his accession began the reign of the Ommayad dynasty, and the transference of the capital, from Kufa and Medina, to Damascus. Owing to this change Palestine assumed a new rôle in the Islamic world, as the chief state of the empire. To the Ommayads, in the endless struggles that ensued between Keis and Yemen, which is still a tradition among the fellaheen, the development and security of Palestine were of serious concern. Mu’awiya spent his winters in Tiberias, and his successors were constantly in the country.

Mu’awiya died at an advanced age, having arranged for the accession of several of his sons. The heir apparent, Yezid I., loitered in Jerusalem till after his father’s death, and when he acceded, in 680, he considerably disturbed the peace of Palestine by his preference for the Kalbites, from whom he was descended. He boasted of his oratorical powers, but was an indifferent custodian of his great inheritance. His brother, Mu’awiya II., inherited nothing of the father’s ambition, and in a rising of the Palestinian population against the monarch it was left to Melek ibn Bahdel, the governor of Palestine, to save the state for the Ommayads. Another brother, Merwan I., ruled briefly, his wife smothering him with a pillow.

The next monarch, Abd el Melek (685-705), was the greatest and most brilliant of the Ommayads. In the wide range of the

cultural influence spread in his reign, he was one of the two outstanding progressive leaders of the East in the pre-Crusading era. At the time of his accession the whole empire was ravaged by an epidemic, in which tens of thousands lost their lives.²⁰ But this gloom was soon forgotten in the glitter of a court which radiated all over the empire the culture and intellect which it assembled. Because the halo of romance has not been cast around his life, Abd el Melek is known only to those in the Western world who have closely studied the great Islamic contribution to modern civilization. He fostered the arts and sciences, and was a great builder. It was probably in his reign that Jews and Christians, with Arab names, first came to Damascus and gave an impetus to learning. It was a Persian Jew, Masarjawaih, who, translating Ahron's *Pandects* from Syriac into Arabic, was responsible for what was perhaps the earliest scientific book in that language.²¹ Two medical works in Arabic are also credited to this scholar, but only fragments of the writings of the finder of the path between the Greek and Arab worlds are extant.

In Palestinean history Abd el Melek looms large as the builder of the Dome of the Rock and of the Aksa Mosque, in Jerusalem. The Dome replaced 'Omar's original mosque. Islam's most impressive, and unique, contribution to religious architecture, however, had its origin in dynastic politics. The Ommayad ruler was contending for supremacy with Abd Allah Ibn Zubair, who had proclaimed himself spiritual, as well as temporal, head of Arabia. The Black Stone of the Ka'aba was a lure which drew thousands of pilgrims east, and then sent them home partisans of the cause of Zubair. To divert this political current, as well as "the golden stream of pilgrim offerings," Abd el Melek bethought himself of Mohammad's first injunction of orientating in prayer to the Sacra in Jerusalem. The Black Stone was the Prophet's afterthought. In Arabic books of travel there are many curious, and interesting, stories of how devout Muslims, coming to Jerusalem, compromised physically while praying—their bodies towards Mecca, their eyes on the Rock.

What Ahab did for Samaria against Jerusalem, what Helena at Macarius' request did for Jerusalem against Rome and

Antioch, Abd el Melek now attempted, in favor of Jerusalem, against Mecca. He did it with a suavity that, even at this distance of time, has its glamour. He circularized all the principal cities of his dominion:

"Abd el Melek, desiring to build a dome over the Holy Rock of Jerusalem in order to shelter the Muslims from the inclemency of the weather, and moreover, desiring to restore the Mesjid, requests his subjects to acquaint him with their views on the matter, as he would be sorry to undertake so important a matter without consulting their opinion."

The response to the Caliph's appeal was wholly satisfactory; but, for good measure, he diverted the revenues of Egypt for the space of seven years to the expense of building the graceful Dome, which with its beautiful precinct dignifies the city as no other building does. The sultan came, himself, from Damascus, to supervise the construction. Craftsmen were brought from all parts of the empire, to aid in the work. For the housing of the immense treasure collected, a small building now known as the Cubbet es Silsilah, was erected within the Haram area.* He appointed Rija ibn Haiy'ah el Kendi as controller, with Yezid ibn Salam, a native of Jerusalem, as coadjutor.

These two names merit enshrinement in the records of men entrusted with the task of erecting public buildings, for it is related of them that when their task was completed, they wrote the Caliph that, "after paying all the expenses of the building there still remained in hand a hundred thousand dinars of the sum originally deposited with us."²² As they refused to accept this sum as a reward for their services the gold was melted into plates for the ornamentation of the building. No effort was spared to make the Dome and its environs beautiful. Some authorities claim that the pillars were taken from the ruins of Justinian's original Byzantine Church of the Holy Sepulchre,† but the Arab writers were more impressed with the luxury of

* The whole of the Haram Area comprises a unit of which the Dome and Aksa are only part. Strictly speaking the Dome is not a mosque, but a shrine or oratory.

† The Hebrew pilgrim inscriptions discovered in recent years within the Haram area, suggest that the material of old buildings on the same site were employed by the frugal commissioners. (L. A. Mayer, Z.D.P.V., 1930, LIII, pp. 212, *et seq.*)

the "tamarisk wood of Midian" imported for the wainscoting, the multitude of lamps, and the use of glass and glazed ware. They dwell, too, on the great quantities of incense brought for the opening service, and the quantities used daily, "incense of saffron," "incense of aloes wood and Kimar," and incense of musk and amber. Great masses of spices were ground and used daily, with such prodigality that the scent remained in the clothes of visitors and worshippers for days.

Three hundred perpetual attendants, with hereditary rights, were appointed for the service of the Dome. Among the attendants, but assigned to the most menial duties, were some tax-free Jews and ten Christians. Jewish glass blowers made all the glass appurtenances, plates, bowls, and chandeliers. Five of them were appointed to superintend the lighting and cleansing of the lamps and candelabras; others cleansed the building after the festivals; and the Christians were relegated to cleansing the sewers. These humble offices, though involving slavery, carried some privileges with them. When the Caliph, 'Omar ibn al 'Aziz, came to reign he deprived the non-Muslims of their offices, and though he would not free these slaves, he refused to attempt their recapture when they ran away.

If Abd el Melek could have induced the Muslims to circumambulate "in dread and sacred procession" around the Rock and treat it as superior in holiness to the Black Stone, he would have succeeded in his political ambitions. Jerusalem might have become the actual center of the Islamic world for all time, but the followers of Islam preferred to see in the remarkable building operations in Jerusalem and in Damascus, where the great mosque was erected, a wise attempt to rival the magnificence of the Holy Sepulchre, and the sumptuousness of Lydda and of Edessa, where beautiful churches were casting a spell on the Muslims. Mecca, therefore, retained its power. The Cufic inscriptions which adorn the Dome, apart from those which record the construction and various repairs, declare in many forms that "there is no God but God alone," and repeat the Islamic protest against the Christian doctrines of the Sonship and of the Trinity.

Circumstance, centuries later, temporarily realized Abd el Melek's plan, but though for twenty years Jerusalem became the actual center of Islam, as soon as circumstances permitted, Mecca was restored to its pre-eminence. The Crusades had considerable influence in enhancing the veneration for Jerusalem among the Muslims. The cult of the Sacra evidently reached its height in the fifteenth century, by which time every square foot of the Haram had acquired its own special sanctity, in the scheme of identifying sites for what originally were legends. To this El Burak, or the flying-horse vision of the Prophet, contributed immensely. According to Jalal-Aldin, every physical incident in that dream—the alighting on earth, the place where the horse was tied, the gold and silver stairs of the ascent, etc.—were all located, and consecrated by shrines—some in contradiction of one another, but all equally impressive to the devout. So we read of the Tower of El Mu'awiya, the central point of the descent: "Here is the spot which marks the cleft made by Gabriel, when he bound El Burak outside the house by the Gate of Mohammad."* The Muslims had good excuse; the Christians were also busy localizing visions and myths that did not even originate in Jerusalem. The Muslim attitude is the more curious in that Arab historians knew there was no structure on the Rock at the time when Mohammad, in his dream, visited it. They tell the story of the dung-covered site, of 'Omar's find, and building, and Abd el Melek's great construction, and all the myths in a continuous, if disjunctive, narrative.

The spirit of religious rivalry, which helped to found the Dome, is even more apparent in the Aksa, which was built on the foundations of Justinian's Church of the Virgin. But Abd el Melek did still more to enhance the prestige of Palestine. In 683 he rebuilt Tyre, parts of Acre, and in Cæsarea, erected a mosque and put a permanent garrison in the town. Continuing a colonization policy, introduced by Mu'awiya, in 661, who brought Persians from Baalbek and other places in northern Syria to resettle Tyre, Acre, and other port towns, Abd

* P. 125. However, a few pages further (p. 134) we read of the angel's gate, so called "because Gabriel is said to have bound Burak there."

el Melek brought immigrants from various parts of the empire to colonize the Palestinian towns. His last great acts as Caliph of Islam were to make Arabic the official language, and to mint coins with Islamic texts.

Abd el Melek was succeeded by his son, Al Walid (705-715), a tyrant who, however, completed the Haram buildings in Jerusalem and, in an attempt to clear the swamps, introduced water-buffaloes from India.²⁸ He improved the roads, and made some bold attempts to improve the soil.

The next ruler was to attempt an equally remarkable, if less permanent, change in the affairs of Palestine. Suleiman (715-717), a son of Abd el Melek, had been governor of Palestine, and made his residence at Lydda, which was the local capital. Disliking the place, he had erected a new center for the governorate, by building a city on what had been sandlots, and accordingly named it Er-Ramleh (Ramleh). When Suleiman came to the throne, Ramleh formally became the capital of Filastin and continued to the end of the Islamic domination. Suleiman was both dissolute and cruel, but a great builder. On the sand waste of Ramleh he erected a palace, a magnificent mosque, the House of Dyers, and a huge cistern, for all of which he levied heavy taxes on his subjects. Lydda was emptied of its Arabs, Greeks and Samaritans, in order to populate the new capital. Though Suleiman ruled from Ramleh,* he seems to have had a personal preference for Jerusalem, for it was sitting in one of the domes, in the open court of the Haram, that he received the news of his accession, and it was in Jerusalem that he died, two years later.

Ramleh was favored by later caliphs as the temporary capital of empire, for Yezid (720-724) died there in the arms of a much-beloved slave girl. Both the Ommayyads and the Abbassides continued the development of Ramleh, of which few traces, owing largely to earthquakes, are now in evidence. In 985, Mukaddasi described it as fine, "well built . . . in the midst of beautiful villages and lordly towns . . . commerce . . . prosperous and the markets excellent"—praise that is borne out by other historians and travellers.

* A romantic Arab tradition attributes the name to a beautiful girl the Caliph found at that spot.

'Omar II. was the religious zealot who instituted many of the restrictions which are associated with the greater 'Omar. These restrictions were, no doubt, responsible for the rising of the pseudo-Messiah Syrene, in the reign of Yezid, who continued the repression of the non-Muslims. Syrene, who was a Syrian Jew, promised to expel the Muslims, and regain possession of the Holy Land for the Jewish people. This was in all probability the last effort of local origin at Jewish independence. It was more than usually futile, and evidently had no great popular support, for Syrene was captured and, when brought before the Caliph, was shrewdly ridiculed by the monarch for his pretensions, and handed over to the Jews to be punished for claiming to be the Messiah. Yezid, in 723, ordered the destruction of all Christian idols and pictures.

But this event, and even the religious prohibitions, did not seriously disturb the great calm that had come upon Palestine, though a great storm was being brewed at no great distance. Willibald,³⁴ who was in Palestine from 721 to 727, and who has left a dull record of churches and relics, experienced no difficulty in visiting them. Yezid II. was in Damascus, and "there was great peace and friendship between the Greeks and Saracens." Willibald and his party went to Galilee, and saw Nazareth, which was a village, in which there was a church. "The Christians repeatedly bought that church of the pagans, when the latter were about to destroy it."³⁵ Tiberias had many churches, "and a synagogue of the Jews." He went to and fro without apparent molestation, and visited Jerusalem four times without mentioning a single untoward incident. The most interesting item in his account related to his successful attempt to deceive the customs officials. He had obtained some of the balsam, or balm of Gilead, the export of which was prohibited. "He filled a gourd with it; he took a gourd that was hollow, and had flax, and filled it with rock oil, and poured some in the other gourd, and cut the small stalk, so that it fitted exactly and closed the mouth of the gourd." So when they came to Tyre "the customs officials smelling only rock oil, did not discover the balsam that was within."

VIII

Mohammad's grandson, Abdallah, and his children were, at this time, living in deep retirement at Humaima, at the south end of the Dead Sea. This spot was well chosen, for it was in close proximity to the route by which the pilgrims went to Mecca, and, therefore, offered excellent opportunities for that skillful propaganda which, in the reign of Hisham (724-743), first witnessed the raising of the black flag of the Abbasides, the dynastic claim which was so soon to undo the Ommayyads.

Hisham was a hard-headed frugal monarch, with a keen eye for filling the treasury. Even his policy of constructing canals and of redeeming the soil was animated by a clear perception of the financial returns which would flow from these improvements. His taxes were so unpopular that when Yezid III. came to the caliphate he promised not only to make every province self-sustaining, but undertook to cut no more canals and to erect no public buildings. The state was, however, suffering mostly from the ingenious tax system devised by the zealous, ascetic 'Omar II. That system produced millions of converts for Islam by putting the converts on a tax level with their fellow Muslims. It thus seriously reduced the resources of the government, which had to finance itself by new imposts on the Muslim population.

Walid II., who reigned for only one year (743-4), had no interest in the caliphate. He had been governor of Trans-Jordan, and in that capacity had carried out a most notable and unique enterprise. At Al Azrak, east of Amman, on the edge of the desert steppes, he built a fortress town, in which he indulged himself and his companions in all the art, culture, and licentiousness of the period. A second of his "oases of joy," of which ruins exist,²⁶ was located at Kusair 'Amra. Here he kept gay court. But his subjects did not approve of his desert "Petit Trianon." They rebelled and, in his endeavor to escape, the caliph was killed. Yezid III. secured the throne by catering to the prejudices of the rebels, but he was quickly disposed of.

In 744, the Palestineans rose, and under the leadership of the caliph's brother, Ibrahim, obtained possession of Gaza, which was partly in ruins, owing to a severe earthquake in 672.

The rebels then marched on Jerusalem, captured the city, and dismantled the wall. They then proceeded to Tiberias, where a bloody affray took place. The usurper reigned only four months, but the end of the Ommayyads was in sight.

Merwan II. (744-750) seized the throne, but his governor of Palestine, Tabit ibn Nu'aim, rose against him, and was defeated at Tiberias. Palestine and Syria then accepted the rule of Merwan, and the last of his house held on precariously to 750. But long before that date, 'Abu Muslim had raised the "black flag" publicly, as the signal of revolt, and chased the caliph to Abu-Futrus (Antipatris). After a sanguinary encounter the caliph fled to Egypt, where he died.

IX

The Ommayyads were, in the main, superior to the Greek monarchs of the period. They carried the East to a standard of culture and peace higher than that of any country in Europe, in the same age, and even long after. To Palestine they brought much architecture, and many local improvements, and 'Omar II. did much to improve the commerce of the country. They were the victims of a dynastic struggle, inherent in the founding of the Islamic empire. They were, on the whole, of purer Arab blood than their victors, for they still held by the old Arab rule of passing the throne to the sons of Arabian mothers. The real Arab stock in Islam was exceedingly small, for the people found by the First Companion in Palestine and Syria were a *mélange*, "ethnologically a chaos of all the possible human combinations to which, when Palestine became a land of pilgrimage, a new admixture was added."²⁷ The myth, that has influenced Near Eastern policies to this day, that there are countless "sons of the desert," has no basis in fact. The original tribes which conquered Palestine were small and, as we have seen, had to draw forces from various fronts in order to conduct their wars. Moreover, they had to call in the aid of forces that were not Arabic. As Gibbon points out, "one of the fifteen provinces of Syria, the cultivated lands of the eastward of the Jordan, had been decorated by Roman vanity with the name of Arabia," and the title stuck.²⁸

Writers to comparatively modern times used the words Arabs, Saracens, Syrians, Kurds, and Turcomans indiscriminately. The unity of language and faith helped to obliterate distinctions which however continued to influence the people themselves.

In the first generations of their rise to power the real Arabs, the desert people, distinguished clearly between themselves and their conquered hosts. They formed the élite of Islam. But this noblesse disappeared quickly when the ruling classes abandoned their racial simplicity, and yielded to the luxury of cities and to the uxoriousness which captive women, of every conceivable blood and admixture of race, offered. Polygamy was probably the least source of their permanent increase in numbers. They colonized, but after a fashion different from the Romans. For, though they brought in immigrants, their real achievement was in stamping on so many heterogeneous elements the common faith of Islam, and the Arab speech. Their adaptability, and their acceptance of new ideas, however, marks them out among all conquering peoples. A people, whose hereditary occupation was war, were not likely to make much progress, even in simple arithmetic. "The Arab's registers are the verses of their bards," but, when it came to administration, they were shrewd and tolerant enough to turn to India and Persia for men who knew exact sciences.

"The nations conquered by their arms were made to yield up intellectual as well as material spoils." ²⁹ This is particularly noticeable in their architecture. The massive simplicity of the tetragonal Ka'aba was theirs. The Persians supplied them with graceful forms and harmonious colors, suggested by the flower gardens of Iran, and their technical terms remain part of the Arabic tongue. The Arabs helped, however, by speech and sword, to carry westward the science, beauty, and culture which was Persian and Byzantine. Owing to their deep-rooted aversion to every form of idolatry the Arabs ennobled and purified their acquisitions, which became part of the prized treasures of the world. To the creation of this magnificent culture-service the Ommayyads from Abd el Melek onward, contributed most notably. When miscegenation had made of these

rulers a spent force, the culture movement continued to go forward. Though "sons of the desert" were part of every great foray that went east, west, north and south, the majority of the desert folk returned to their desert wastes, and to their free, roaming life. History, song, and story, attest this strange reversion to type, by which the real Arabs disappeared in the sand storms, while a world was conquered in their name, and faith.

The influence, on Palestine, of this culture campaign pursued by the Ommayyads was not limited to the monuments they built, nor to the great mass of translations from Greek to Arabic which they induced. It influenced the Jews considerably. Arabic speech was adopted, replacing the corrupt Aramaic. Following the Arab interest in poetry and in grammar, the Jews purified Hebrew, and simplified its reading by adding vowel points. The Jews of Kainukka and Nadhir, the obscure migrants of 624, were Jewish "sons of the desert," men of the sword—soldiers and warriors—accustomed from early childhood to a free life. They lived at ease with their neighbors, vied with them in drinking bouts, and set aside the rigors of the Talmudic law. They influenced the older settled Palestinian Jewish population, which, with its linguistic resources, was an excellent medium for culture exchange. "Henceforth the Jews like the Syrian Christians were the channels through which scientific literature reached the Arabs,"²⁰ and slowly percolated to the western world.

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CHAPTER VII

ABBASIDE RULE—750 TO 907

THE four orthodox and the fourteen Ommayad caliphs were deeply interested in the ownership of Palestine. They wielded considerable influence over the country, notwithstanding its administrative unity with Egypt. Three centuries of misrule, and the relegation of Palestine to the position of a subordinate province of the empire, were ushered in when Abu al'Abbas, who appropriately surnamed himself "al-Saffah" (the Blood-thirsty), acceded in 750. The rise of the Abbasides shattered Muslim unity into princely fragments. This, as much as the Crusades, was responsible for the eventual loss of Palestine to the Crescent. The Abbasides were rarely at ease, in Palestine or Syria. They were placed on the throne by the aid of Persians and Khorassians, and leaned on the swords of the Seljuk Turks.

Almost the first important act of al'Abbas was the removal of the imperial capital from Damascus to Al-Kafr, in Arabia. This change was prompted by fear of the Ommayad influence, which continued to sway the inhabitants of the Syrian and Palestinean cities. The transfer did not quench the caliph's desire for a safe and secure capital. In 762 Al Mansur, with the aid of an Arab, Khalion Barmek, a Persian astronomer, Naubkelt, and a Jew, Mash'a Allah, built, opposite the ancient village of Baghdad, a new city—the Baghdad of renown and romance, of history and legend. New Baghdad was, perhaps, the first city actually planned in detail, and designed according to a geometric figure, the circle. These relocations of capitals were injurious to the interests of the Syrian population. But Harun al Rashid did not like the imperial city, with which his name is so closely identified, and he established him-

self at Ar Rakka, an important trading post in northern Syria. He seldom visited the scene of the "Thousand and One Nights." His successors, however, returned to Baghdad.

Abbaside control of Palestine practically ceased after 868, when Ahmed ibn Tulun wrested from his liege lord the independence of Egypt and of Palestine. By that date the Abbasides were little more than the puppets of the Turks; monarchs of the palace-area within their personal vision. Two or three of the thirty-seven Abbaside monarchs achieved greatness or exhibited unusual qualities, making brilliant interludes in what, otherwise, was a blood-ridden story. These rulers of Palestine, in their ready vengeance, their many murders, endless dynastic struggles, and in the grossness of their lives, behaved much as the monarchs and courts of the western world, in the same era. All of them were, however, far ahead of the West in personal culture, and in their interest in the arts and sciences. Though blood-drenched, the East remained in the forefront of the commerce and culture of the world. Palestine gradually orientalized, but it remained one of the great emporia of the world. There men of all nations still mixed with fair freedom, and enjoyed a share of economic success.

"Islam . . . is not identical with Arabia, though it took its rise there."¹ Though all the dynastic struggles within the caliphate rested on genealogy, all but three of the caliphs were the offspring of slave women. With rare exceptions these slave women were of foreign nationality, i.e., alien blood, and obtained by capture, purchase, or gift. The Arab strain in the caliphate thus diminished rapidly. To uphold their claims to the throne the Fatimids inverted the Arab theory of descent, for they traced their right to a woman, Fatima. When the Abbasides rose to power the nomad, having conquered the east for the Crescent, retired to his native deserts and oases. When great war claimed his allegiance for the Crescent, he re-emerged. Once victory was assured, he again left power and empire to aliens in blood, who were, however, his kin in faith and speech.

It has been well said that, "if at the time of the rise of the Abbasides there was a school which placed the Arabs in civili-

zation and intellectual attainments below the other races which accepted Islam, this was because the Arab was regarded as, to use Euting's phrase, 'the parasite of the camel,' the nomad of the tales and lays, who at best is a savage noble, whose movements are directed." ² There was no such school, and for many centuries thereafter, until some study and analysis were made of the driving force within Islam, all that was developed by Islam was, indiscriminately, credited to any of all the races that embraced it.

Under the Abbaside rule Palestine, together with all the East, rose to a new eminence. What the Ommayyads had begun the Abbasides, despite their general political incompetence, and official dogmatism, continued with notable success. Across the rebellions, dynastic wars, and court revolutions, so destructive to Islamic unity and imperial authority, and so productive of bloodshed, there runs a record, brilliant in scientific research, and great in culture and in all the arts—the West anticipated by seven centuries. A full share of the brunt of the bitter fratricidal Abbaside struggles was borne by Palestine, but it received, as recompense, its full quota of the newly aroused interest in culture and art, though most of what was erected in these fruitful ages was, subsequently, ruthlessly destroyed.

During the two centuries in which Abbaside succeeded Abbaside, after a blood drenching, the great majority of their subjects lived in comparative peace. The age did not question the right of an autocrat to destroy either his enemies or those friends who had helped him to power. Whilst the marble pavements of the royal palace were so often slippery with blood, the empire was both agriculturally and commercially prosperous, and the mass of the peoples brought under the caliph's banner enjoyed comparative peace. The court record is one of constant conspiracy, the public life was marked by tolerance of racial foibles, and religious divergencies.

Palestinean conditions were superior to life in any contemporaneous country of Europe. The lavish phrases in the pilgrim records attest the fact that the westerner, come east on religious mission bent, saw, what was to him, a world of comparative miracle. Hallam tells us whence the pilgrim came,

"Till the reign of Charlemagne there were no towns in Germany except a few that had been erected on the Rhine and the Danube by the Romans. . . . There is not a vestige perhaps to be discovered for several centuries of any considerable manufacture; I mean of working up articles of common utility to an extent beyond what the necessities of an adjacent district required. . . . Even kings, in the ninth century, had their clothes made by the women on their farms. . . . It is not therefore necessary to rest the miserable condition of oriental commerce upon the Saracen conquests, because the poverty of Europe is an adequate cause. . . . Glass is said not to have been employed in the domestic architecture of France before the fourteenth century, and its introduction into England was probably by no means earlier. . . . It is asserted of [a council] held in 992, that scarcely a single person was to be found in Rome itself who knew the first elements of letters. Not one priest of a thousand in Spain, about the age of Charlemagne, could address a common letter of salutation to another." * Gerbert brought mathematics from Barcelona to France, in 1003; and at the beginning of the Crusades the Prussians were still adoring the Lithuanian god, Perkunas.

II

When Al Saffah seized the throne, and raised his black flag, in 749, his mind was on conquest, and on the destruction of all his enemies. He slaughtered all the Ommayyads, except Abd-er-Rahman, who escaped to Spain, and founded the Caliphate of Cordova. A large number of members of the old dynasty fled to Palestine, which was hospitable to the Syrian house. In 751 an amnesty was offered to the numerous members of the Ommayyad family congregated there. Ninety of them attended a feast at Antipatris. On a given signal they were all put to death. "A carpet was drawn across the ghastly spectacle, and the tyrant resumed his feast over the still quivering limbs of the dying." A like scene was soon after enacted at Al Bacra. All Syria rose in rebellion, and the Hauran followed suit. In this war and in that which followed in the succeeding reign, one leader, 'Abu Muslim, is credited, and apparently

boasted, of being responsible for the slaying, in cold blood, of six hundred thousand men, besides those killed in the hot blood of the battles in which he participated. As all this slaughter was in part a matter of Islamic theological strife, as well as due to dynastic rivalries, a spirit of fanaticism arose; the infidels, Jews, and Christians were not spared. The latter suffered under the sumptuary laws. They were again forbidden to build new churches, and to expose the Cross in public. They could make no converts; church property was taxed; and consecrated vessels were taken from the churches, and offered for sale.

The Messianic movements of the times denoted that the Jews were not "at ease in Zion." In 750, an intensely ascetic movement was started by Jews in Persia, and in the same year a new apocalypse was proclaimed among the Palestinean Jews by the alleged discovery of the "Secrets of Rabbi Simon ben Jochai," of the second century. This collection of prophecies, it was claimed, foretold the destruction of the Abbaside dynasty by Messiah, or one of his forerunners, and indicated that it would end with Merwan II.⁴

Ascriptions, particularly of a vain character, were now adopted by the Monarchs. The next Caliph Abu Jaffar called himself Al Mansur, "the Victorious" (754). Tall, thin, a narrow face, lank hair, thin beard, and brownish complexion, he was the son of a Berber slave woman. In 758 he made a royal progress through Syria, and visited Jerusalem where he ordered the Christians to be branded in the hand. Many of them thereupon fled to Europe. In 761 a severe earthquake shook Jerusalem, and the southern portion of the Haram es Sherif suffered severely. Both the Dome of the Rock and the Aksa mosque were injured. The Caliph having no money to spare for repairs, the gold with which the gates and doors had been plated by Abd el Melek's honest commissioners was melted down to finance the rebuilding. At the same time the small Jewish community in Jerusalem was torn by dissension, in support or opposition to the new Jewish sect, the Ananites (in later generations the Karaites), which had been founded in Persia, and which spread through many of the Jewish settlements.

In 775 the son of Al Mansur, Al Mahdi, a mild and generous

monarch, came to the throne. But it was not until a decade later that he made a royal progress, with all his court, through Palestine. His cavalcade, which witnessed the completion of the repairs to the Haram area, was, so the chronicler tells us, "supplied with ice from the mountains."

III

Harun al Rashid, "the upright," after a brief reign by his brother, al-Hadi, succeeded to the throne in 786, and about 802 forsook Baghdad and set up his court in Ar-Rakka, in the north of Syria. Before this, in 796, the Joctanites and Ishmaelites fought out their tribal differences. Palestine was overrun by fire and sword. Many populous cities were completely desolated. Eleutheropolis became a desert; Ascalon, Gaza and Cæsarea were sacked; the monasteries of the Jordan valley suffered seriously; and Jerusalem was fortified for a siege. Trenches were dug; walls and gates were repaired. The enemy was kept out, and the Joctanites were defeated.

By reason of this, and similar struggles,

"The Arabs had ceased to be the props of the empire, but the Arab language had spread far and wide. . . . Syria and the adjacent lands found themselves in better circumstances than they had for a long time experienced. . . . The Christian population had gone over to Islam en masse. The desire to stand on an equality with the conquerors in the eye of the law, and to pay diminished taxes, was, of course, a powerful motive for this; but no less strong an influence was the suitability of Islam to Oriental peasants and townfolk. . . . Islam was accepted by the majority of the east Syrian Christians, even the Nestorians. . . . In adopting the priestless religion of Islam, the Christians got rid of the tutelage and oppression of their own clergy. . . . To the rulers these conversions were, for the most part, positively unwelcome, as the converts were thereby relieved from the heaviest of the taxes. . . . Nor were the Christians maltreated. . . . It was certainly easier for a man to live as a Christian under the rule of the Caliphs than as a Christian heretic within the Byzantine empire." ⁵

It is in the reign of Harun that Western chroniclers record the first official and peaceful contact with the East. Einhardt, the recorder of Charlemagne's reign, relates, in some detail, the history of the embassy sent by the Frank emperor to the

famous Caliph of the Abbasides. From the presumed response of Harun there has been developed a theory of French interest in Palestine, and of guardianship over the Latin Church in Jerusalem, which has come to have political rather than religious implications.

Not a single reference to the embassy, or to Harun's interest in the great western king, or to any view of Harun on Christian matters, is to be found in the fairly voluminous Arab records of this reign. In fact, though Harun resided closer to Jerusalem than any of his house he is one of the few caliphs whose presence in Jerusalem is not even once noticed.

A most meticulous study of the incident⁶ claims that the third alleged object of the French mission was "freedom of access and protection of pilgrims visiting the Holy places in Palestine, particularly Jerusalem, from either Muslim or Greek oppression." Willibald, the Anglo-Saxon, as noted in a previous chapter, referred to the great peace and friendship that existed between all elements of the population during 721 to 727. Except that he was detained at Miletus, waiting for his passport, he records no difficulties experienced during his four trips to Jerusalem. Bernard the Wise, a Breton monk, of the monastery of Mont St. Michel, was in Palestine in 867, and is the first to mention the "hostel founded there by the glorious Emperor Charles."⁷ He almost overwhelms us with his description of the peace that prevailed between the Christians and the "pagans" of Jerusalem. He asserts: "if I should go on a journey, and in my journey my camel or ass, which carries my baggage should die, or I should leave everything there without a guard, and go to the next town to get another, on my return I would find all my property untouched." In explanation he states that the roads were so well guarded that anyone travelling without credentials "is immediately thrown into prison, till the time he can give a good account whether he be spy or not." This statement is the more interesting because the Arab chroniclers depict the period of Bernard's visit as one of great political disturbance owing to the efforts of the first of the Tulunides to detach Palestine from Abbaside rule.

The pilgrim records of the intervening century make no

mention of molestation. There is, therefore, no historic warrant for the assumption that the pilgrims stood in need of protection at that date. That Charles was made Wali, or deputy king of Jerusalem, is equally untenable. The capital of Filastin was Ramleh. While the matter cannot be proven it is more likely that Charlemagne's mission met Harun at Ar Rakka than in Baghdad, and there received the elephant, which according to Einhardt was the sole object of the embassy, and returned, loaded with silks, spices, and a set of Indian carved ivory chessmen.

What seems true is that the Patriarch of Jerusalem learnt of the embassy, which, coming via Egypt, no doubt passed through Jerusalem. Its leader, a Jew of Narbonne, would have regarded a visit to the Holy City as a necessary incident in his journey. The Patriarch sent Charles, through a clerical mission, some relics and the keys of the "Holy Sepulchre, of Calvary, of the City of Mount Zion together with the banner of the Cross." These gifts are reported in some detail as being received by Charles before his coronation in Rome on Christmas Day, 800.⁹ That there was at that epoch no "City of Mount Zion" which had keys, and that the gates of Jerusalem were under the control of the Muslim governor, does not mar the picturesqueness of the story, even if the facts do invalidate both its veracity, and the assumptions so laboriously construed out of it. Charles resumed the custom of western monarchs of the fourth and fifth centuries, and donated a hospice to Jerusalem. Beyond that there is as little merit to the story of Charles' relations to Jerusalem, as there is in the exaggerated accounts of the Caliph, whose life has fascinated western imagination.

IV

In the struggles between the three sons of Harun, among whom he unwisely divided his empire, Palestine was the scene of much rapine and blood. The churches of Jerusalem were either profaned, or partially ruined; the monasteries were desolated; and many of the Christians fleeing, sought the bounty of the Byzantine emperor, Michael.

The victor, in this dynastic struggle, was Al Ma'mun (813-

833), during whose twenty years of sovereignty Islamic scholarship rose to its greatest heights, though Shiah and Sunnee, the two sects which had sprung up at the death of 'Omar, renewed their hatreds, and in their struggle for mastery eventually ruined the caliphate. In Baghdad the Shiah green, raised against the Abbaside black, constituted not only a religious struggle, but an organized opposition to the dynasty. It was nevertheless a period of extreme tolerance. Discussion was free and untrammelled, even between Muslims and Christians, and Baghdad, the center of great luxury, was more interested in intellectual pursuits than in theology. Al Ma'mun was devoted to philosophy, and was the patron of Abd el Messiah el Kendi who translated the Greek philosophers into Arabic. The caliph had a degree of the meridian measured in the Plain of Sinjar, so keen was his devotion to the exact sciences. His Palestinian interest seems to have been limited to a thorough repair of the Dome of the Rock and of the Haram buildings. His obsequious flunkies paid him the compliment of attributing to him, in the inscriptions, the erection of the buildings. The extreme tolerance of his rule is exhibited in the account of the restoration of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre. Taking advantage of the absence of the Muslim population, which fled the city owing to a plague of locusts, Thomas the Patriarch, aided by Bocam, a wealthy Egyptian, began the restoration of the Church. Incidental to the work the cupola of the Church was raised above its true height overshadowing the cupola of the Dome. This was a distinct breach of the regulations. The local officials squabbled with the churchmen, but the Caliph declined to punish the offenders. Al Ma'mun was more interested in scholarship. He permitted the Sabian pagans to live in peace in northern Syria, erected an observatory at Palmyra, and had the monasteries ransacked for manuscripts, which were stored in state libraries. The translations of Aristotle and Plato, in Arabic, were given free circulation.

Al Mu'tasim (833-842), had no such peaceful reign as his brother, Al Ma'mun. An army of thirty thousand tribesmen was raised by Tamin Abu-Harat, who had disturbed Al Ma'mun's last year, and they pillaged and murdered, in all parts of Palestine. These forces were however defeated and

dispersed by Raga, the caliph's general, the insurgents suffering a loss of eight thousand killed and a thousand wounded. This, and a still more obscure rising, may explain the gradual officering of the Arabs by Seljuk Turks, who were encouraged and promoted in court circles. Al Mu'tasim had a Turkish body-guard. Another rising recorded in this reign, in 842, was promoted by a leader who went masked. He was therefore known as "the veiled one." Though, during his insurgency, Jerusalem was plundered, his rebellion was more costly in lives than in damage to the country.

Mu'tasim was succeeded by Al Wathik (842-847), during whose reign Jerusalem suffered from an earthquake; but a far more serious tremor affected all the coast cities, from Alexandria to Antioch, in 859. Bar Hebraeus, the great Nestorian scholar who was of Jewish parentage, described Mutawakkil (847-861) as "a hater of Christians." This caliph ordered the demolition of all the churches founded since the rise of Islam. Moreover he forbade the employment of Christians in government offices. He prohibited the display of wooden crosses on Palm Sunday. He elaborated the code of distinctive dress for the Christians. All non-Muslims had to add yellow cowls to the yellow patch; Christian women had to don a yellow tunic out-of-doors. Men were forced to wear parti-colored garments. The Christians, who were limited to the use of wooden stirrups, were ordered in addition to display two globes on their saddles. Another odd law of this monarch was an order compelling the affixing of little wooden demons on the doors of Christian homes.

Mutawakkil is however best known for having instituted the use of the *zonarian*, or girdle, which both Jews and Christians were compelled to wear. This custom remained in vogue till modern times. What was originally intended as a distinctive mark of debasement came, in after ages, to be regarded as an emblem of privilege, and desirable caste identification, in the Near East. The non-Muslims were in these persecutions the victims of the sectarian strife which raged throughout the Islamic world. The sufferers rebelled, but their risings were quickly suppressed by the Ramleh garrison.

With Mutawakkil's murder by his son, Al Muntasir, in 861,

the great day of the Abbasides passed. The murderer reigned only six months during which revolution spread throughout Palestine, creating opportunity for the Seljuks, who were steadily coming to the fore, as the controlling influence in the empire. In 866 they forced Musta'in to abdicate, and elected Mutazz whose official reign however lasted only three years. In the meantime the Abbasides had lost control of both Syria and Palestine.

V

At the court of Muntasir there was a Turkish slave, Ahmed ibn Tulun, son of a slave, brought to Baghdad in 815. The youngster was schooled in tyranny, but unlike his forebears he aspired to an education, and won respect by refusing to murder Muntasir, for whom he was made body-guard, after the monarch was forced to abdicate. Upon Mutazz's election, as caliph, a Turkish official was appointed viceroy of Egypt. He sent thither, as his deputy, Ahmed ibn Tulun, who arrived at the head of a gorgeous procession in 868, and ruled with a firm hand. In 869 Mutazz was murdered, and then, in the words of the Arab chronicler, "the wide world was upside down."

On the throne of the caliphs the Turks placed Ahmed, a son of Mutawakkil, and surnamed him Al Mu'tamid. During this court revolution Ahmed ibn Isa, the governor of Palestine, died, and his son, Abu Musa Scheich, organized a revolution, and proclaimed himself independent of Damascus. Claiming authority over Egypt he promptly seized seven hundred and fifty thousand dinars, which were being sent as tribute from Egypt to Baghdad, and divided the booty among his followers. Scheich declined to restore this money to the caliph, and Tulun was thereupon directed to attack the rebel. Marching into Palestine with a large army, Tulun attacked Scheich successfully, but the caliph named another Turk, Magur, governor of Syria. Tulun immediately avenged himself by organizing a triumph in Egypt and persecuting the local Jews and Christians, and confining them to distinct quarters.

By 872 Tulun had become so aggressive that Mu'tamid attempted to depose his viceroy, but Tulun bribed the Vizir, and

was officially proclaimed viceroy. The governor of Damascus did not rest under this abrogation of his power, but the Cufites rose in Egypt, and the Carmathians made incursions into Syria. When, in 877, Magur, the governor of Syria, died, Tulun mustered his Egyptians, and proceeded to Ramleh, where his authority was immediately recognized. He then marched to Damascus, where he declared his independence of the caliph, and prepared to attack the principal Syrian cities. Reaching the Taurus, he decided on peace instead of war with the Greeks. Assured of his supremacy he returned to Damascus and imprisoned the tax director of Syria and of Palestine. Nor would he release this official until he had disgorged six hundred thousand dinars. During his stay in Palestine, Tulun directed the rebuilding of the harbor of Acre, and the reconstruction of Jaffa. An inscription on the military road he built across the Desert of the Wanderings to Arabah, still attests his rule. This forcible founder of a new dynasty did not disturb his Palestinian subjects, but there exist letters from the Patriarch Theodosius, which indicate that the Christians of the Holy City went in fear of the possible orders of the autocrat. This fear was not unjustified, for Tulun indulged in fiendish torture in devising punishment for a son who rebelled against his authority. At his death, in 884, this upstart slave left seventeen sons and sixteen daughters, and a fortune estimated at ten million dinars, gathered by the swords of his twenty-four thousand slave bodyguards.

Egypt hailed his son, Khumaraweyh, only twenty years old, as ruler, but the Baghdad Turks declined to recognize the son of the usurper and prepared for war. Their capture of Damascus was accepted by Khumaraweyh as a challenge, and, leading seventy thousand men, he brought his army by land and sea to Palestine. A great battle was fought some twelve miles north of Ramleh, at et-Tawahin (the Mills), on the Aujah. The Egyptians were routed, and the monarch fled to Egypt. In the confusion of battle the Abbaside leaders also fled, and the Tulunide was thus left firmly in the saddle. Yielding to power the caliph acknowledged the independent sovereign. To assure his position Khumaraweyh, the following year, again marched his troops into Palestine, and reached Damascus, where terms

of peace were offered him. But he had trouble with his own following, for his general, Sa'd el A'sar, revolted in 886, and for two years ruled Palestine and Syria, independently.

Khumaraweyh, though a capable soldier who managed to maintain peace in Egypt for a number of years, was a luxury-loving and pleasure-seeking monarch much devoted to extravagant building. Among the curiosities of his personal estate was an immense bath filled with quicksilver, in which he sought to overcome insomnia. In 896 he was assassinated in Damascus, having spent the last years of his life in an attempt to quell the insurrections of insubordinate emirs.

Two Tulunides followed each other in rapid succession. Jaish Abu-l Asakir was fourteen years old when he came to his father's throne, and reigned for only six months. A brother, Harun, came to the throne in 896. He, too, was a boy, and he accepted the caliph as suzerain, and agreed to pay an annual tribute of four hundred and fifty thousand dinars for Palestine and Syria. In 904 he was murdered, and was succeeded by the last of the Tulunides, Sheyban. So ended a dynasty which combined a series of wars with lavish and ornate ceremonial, and introduced much pomp in its courts during the thirty-seven years of its existence.

'Abdallah ibn Meimum el Kaddah, a native of Jerusalem, between 873 and 876 propagated a new religious system designed to embrace and unify all faiths. One of the Iraq propagandists of this universal religion was a dwarf, Carmat, and his deformity provided the name for this new sect. The Carmathians scoured the East for more than a century thereafter, their pillagings and forays being more in evidence than their religious propaganda. Under a leader, named Zikwareith, they defeated the caliph's army, and invaded Syria, murdering and pillaging as they went forward.

Al Muktafi (902-908) succeeded Al Mu'tadid as caliph and took the field in pursuit of the Carmathians. The caliph led his army into Syria, and then turned over the command to his general, Mohammad ibn Suleiman, who technically was the vassal of the Tulunide. Suleiman was victorious in the pursuit of the Carmathians, but immediately deserted the Tulunide cause, invaded Egypt, and took all the members of the reigning

family, including Prince Sheyban, prisoners. He escorted his captives to Baghdad, where they and he were put to death. By this means the Abbasides temporarily recovered possession of Palestine. Six caliphs of this house, more or less, ruled Palestine, from Damascus or Fustat, according to which governor was stronger, during the thirty years that followed the suppression of the Tulunides, and the rise of the Ikhshidids.

The Egyptian end of the empire was at constant war with the Moors. The caliph sent fleets to defend the Egyptian coast cities, but usurpers generally gained the real advantage of these engagements. A number of these bureaucratic revolts were fought out in Palestine. Jerusalem was used by the revolutionists either as a place of hiding, or for self-exile.

El-Chalangi was the boldest of these rebels. He started out as the savior of the Tulunide cause, assembled his forces at Ramleh, captured the town, and then proclaimed himself governor of Egypt. He managed to retain power to 906, having fought a number of battles at Gaza and El Arish. One general who fought El-Chalangi was poisoned at Ramleh, and, dying there, was buried in Jerusalem. Another, Ibn Takar, organized a counter-revolution in Palestine, and with the support he gathered there captured Fustat, and held it for one hundred and twelve days.

It was to overcome this revolt that in 934 Mohammad ibn Tughf, governor of Syria, was appointed governor of Egypt, and thus afforded an opportunity to create still another quasi-independent dynasty.

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CHAPTER VIII

TWO HUNDRED YEARS OF CONFUSION—908 TO 1098

THE Abbasides were the victims of their own policy of delegating the task of ruling to others, whilst they basked in the sensuality and ceremony of court life. The old aristocracy was gradually replaced by a class of government officials, headed by a Wazir, or Vizir. The bureaucracy was not only venal, but the Vizir at the head of the system exercised autocratic power, and, in the course of what was frequently a meteoric career ending in violent death, pursued policies alien to the dynastic interest. This change, from simple direct rule by the caliph, to a complex system, resembling that of the Byzantines, is traceable to the influence of the Persians, who played a great part in the cultural development of the Islamic power, and introduced court astrologers and votaries of all sorts of mystical cults which caught the imagination of the people and of their rulers. The system of government was in effect that which the Persians had inherited from their Magian forebears, who in their turn had inherited the ancient Babylonian system of dividing authority.

In this strange blend of the political habits of thirty centuries there was a good deal of royal tolerance, if occasional outbreaks of mob fanaticism. Professing Christians and Jews—the literate element in the population—held high office. They were readily trusted by caliphs who felt the need of being represented by officials whose devotion was of necessity identified with the person of the monarch. As the authority of the vizir grew, and the office of caliph dwindled, the monarch, as a matter of self-protection, came more and more to lean on the personal body-guard of Turks, recruited from the inhabitants of the Oxus. To personal indolence can thus be traced the

events which came to dominate the two centuries that ended in the first Crusade.

Disturbances throughout all the provinces of the empire ushered in the tenth century. The political confusion was materially aggravated when, in 908, a boy, Al Muktadir, came to the throne. By the end of his reign, in 932, thirteen vizirs in turn had held office and suffered the monarch's displeasure in forms characteristic of the period. His successor, Al Kadir, was held in contempt by his own officials, and at the end of two years was blinded and deposed.

The Caliph in Baghdad had ceased to influence the affairs of Palestine. In 929 the Carmathians rose again, and attacked the pilgrim caravan en route for Mecca, and followed their aggression by a military assault on the sacred city of Islam. Thirty thousand Muslims were slain in Mecca, and for good measure the Carmathians uprooted the Black Stone, carried off that sacred symbol of Islam, and retained possession of it for twenty years. The disappearance of the Ka'aba redounded to the advantage of Jerusalem; the Black Stone having disappeared, the Sacra under the Dome became an object of intense veneration to the Muslims, who flocked in great numbers to Palestine.

The presence of many fanatic pilgrims produced the usual result, and, in 937, during the patriarchate of Christopher of Ascalon, on Palm Sunday, the Muslims attacked the Church of Constantine, fired the southern gates and laid waste the churches of Calvary, and of the Resurrection.

All these circumstances served the ambition of Mohammad ibn Tughf, the governor of both Syria and Egypt. Less than half a century had passed since his father, Tughf ibn Guff, a native of Fargana, beyond the Oxus, had been brought, as a likely Turkish slave, to the caliph's court, and gradually rose to power. By changing his politics with every wind that blew, Tughf eventually became governor of Damascus, and so had a hand in Palestinian affairs. His son, Mohammad, freed in his childhood, after an adventurous career, entered the service of Takin, for some time deputy governor of Egypt, and later rebel against the governor. Mohammad was made governor of

Amman, and so well checked the Bedouins, who preyed on the Mecca pilgrims, that in 924 he was promoted governor of Ramleh, and was therefore local sovereign of Palestine. Two years later he was promoted to Damascus, and then in the course of events Egypt was added to his authority. He did not go to Egypt till 931, where he arrived in great state. Here he gave the caliph such obedience that he was made a prince, with a title that the overlords of his homeland had held with great pride—Ikhshid. He thus became the first of a brief, but most impressive and interesting dynasty to rule Palestine.

Bold, venturesome, not overscrupulous, and most persistent, the first Ikhshid won his way to quasi-independence for himself and for his sons, through the weakness of the caliphs who in their sad plight even added Medina and Mecca to the Ikhshid authority, and by the free use of an army, at whose head he constantly marched through Palestine. A Syrian emir, Raik, was not without like ambitions. He captured part of Syria, and then headed his forces southward, for a contest with the Ikhshid. Mohammad, nothing loath, organized an army of forty thousand men at Ramleh, and met his opponent at El Lajjun, about twenty miles from Tiberias, where one of the bloodiest, if inconclusive, battles of the period took place. Raik retreated to Damascus, and Mohammad dragged five hundred prisoners to Ramleh. Then the two men met and divided the caliph's domain between them. Mohammad took most, and promised to pay Raik one hundred and forty thousand dinars tribute annually.

In 940 the Caliph, Al Radi, died, and a brother, Al Muttaki, succeeded him. A court conspiracy cut his reign short. For his protection Al Muttaki summoned Raik to Baghdad, then abdicated, and with his protector fled to Hamadan. The Ikhshid did not miss this golden opportunity. He took Damascus without a blow. In 944 his quasi-independence was acknowledged by Al Muttaki, and he was granted dynastic rights for himself and his children, for thirty years. The deposition of the next caliph, Al Mustakfi, caused Ikhshid to hurry to Damascus in 945, where he died. He and all the members of his dynasty were buried in Jerusalem.

The second Ikhshid was Mohammad's son, Abul-Kasim Ungur, whose reign lasted to 960. During most of this period Palestine was actually under the local control of the king's uncle, el Hasan ibn Tughf, who was governor of Damascus, and who subsequently retired to Ramleh. Kasim Ungur, however, turned over northern Syria to the Hamdani princes of Aleppo, and three rulers of the name of Saif, Sa'ad, and Sa'id ad Daulah, controlled that part of the caliph's domain to 1003. The third Ikhshid was Abul Hassan Ali, another son of Mohammad, but though he came to the throne at twenty-four, real power was in the hands of the regent, Kafur, who in 966 succeeded the monarch, and became the recognized as well as the official ruler of the dual states of Syria and Egypt.

II

Abul-Misk Kafur ibn 'Abdallah el-Ikhshid, the most capable of the Ikhshids, was a negro, native of Abyssinia, with a shiny black skin, great physical prowess, and excellent mental capacity. In 915, he was purchased as a slave, for eighteen dinars, by the first Ikhshid. Owing to an infection he was dismissed from the court and became a street beggar. In after life he never forgot that, begging one day from a vendor of warm food, he was rewarded with a blow that knocked him insensible. He recalled the incident, not in anger, but as the low water-mark of his experiences. Another incident of these beggar days that influenced him was that an astrologer prophesied that he would one day become master of Egypt, and the adjacent lands.

In the course of events, Kafur returned to the service of Mohammad Ikhshid, and became not only Master of Ceremonies, but the only person with whom the ruler spoke on familiar terms. He proved to be not only an excellent court official but a good military leader, and a careful financier of the state. He lost a battle, and frankly reported it. On Mohammad's death, he became the regent of Kasim Ungur, and saved his crown for him when Saif ad Daulah marched with an army towards Egypt in the hope of conquering it. Kafur routed the Aleppo prince on the frontier by a surprise attack, and secured

the Caliph's recognition of the sovereign. To the third Ikhshid he was more than regent. The monarch was entirely under his control. When Ali died, the legal successor was Ahmed, a boy of nine. Kafur, with the support of all the authorities of the realm, however, had himself named Governor of Egypt and Syria. The Caliph approved the choice and Kafur was accorded the prenomens, Abul Misk. He reigned two years, from 966 to 968. He was frequently in Palestine, and his corpse was brought to Jerusalem for burial.

Egyptian historians relate that this Abyssinian ruler of the Near East surrounded himself with all the luxury and all the culture of the Orient. He patronized scholars and enjoyed their reading to him the history of the Abbaside and Ommayad caliphs. After an earthquake, the tremors of which continued at intervals during six months, a poet ventured a distich in which he expressed the thought that Egypt was not shaking from iniquity, but was dancing with joy at Kafur's righteousness. His table was daily crowded with guests, who consumed immense quantities of food.¹

During Kafur's official and unofficial reign, Egypt suffered from earthquakes; the Nile failed to rise, resulting in great starvation; and the Carmathians, in 968, attacked the Syrian, Egyptian, and Moroccan pilgrimage to Mecca, killing or capturing twenty thousand camels. Notwithstanding these disasters, Kafur so managed the affairs of state that an Arab historian wrote: "He was the friend of learning and science, and the wealthy could find none that needed charity. When he was told of this he advised the benevolent to build mosques, and provide for their endowment."²

Ahmed, last of the Ikhshids, came to the throne in 968. A relative was named governor of Ramleh and of Damascus. Among the boy-king's appointees was Samuel, who was postmaster, and who became commander of the army. The governor of Ramleh was, however, compelled to return to Egypt, because the Carmathians had already invaded Syria. This Palestinian governor, el-Hassan ibn Obedidallah ibn Tughf, found the Egyptians in revolt, and began to re-organize the administration. One of the victims of this change was Jacob

ibn Killis, a Jewish apostate, who fled to Morocco, and from there started to influence his Egyptian friends to favor the taking over of the country by the Fatimid caliph, el-Muizz.³ When the Fatimid decided upon conquest, Asia Minor was a prey to unrest and revolution, from Aleppo to Alexandria. The Baghdad caliph was a name, the Ikhshid a mere boy.

III

In Palestine, meanwhile, the Ikhshids were speedily forgotten when the Greeks determined to take advantage of the political situation. In 968, Nicephorus Phocas, co-regent of Byzantium, at the head of a large army invaded Syria, and captured Antioch by a surprise attack. Constantinople rejoiced over a victory that promised to be the prelude to the restoration of the long-lost provinces, and Phocas became the "Star of the East, the death and scourge of the infidels." He was an excellent soldier, who had obtained the throne by marrying the widow of his predecessor, and shrewdly attempted to translate his success into an occasion for proclaiming a Holy War. The Greek clergy had no enthusiasm for the cause, and openly opposed it.

Phocas, however, persisted in his bold dreams of conquest, and another Greek army was sent to Mesopotamia under Temelius, who was badly beaten at Amide on the Tigris, and the prisoners of war were incarcerated in Baghdad. Here they remained until the murder of Phocas in 969, when his successor, John Zimisce, raised to the throne by the same empress, decided to revenge the honor and faith of the empire.

Western support was denied the emperor. The Venetians were too deeply involved in the business of shipping Muslims from Africa and Asia to Syria and Palestine, to favor a breach of the peace. Zimisce, nevertheless, went ahead with his military plans, and in 970, having made an alliance with the Christians of Syria, and with the Armenian princes, invaded Saracen territory. The Islamic dynastic disputes were his opportunity, and leading his armies in person he made a rapid advance into Palestine. From the east he besieged Damascus, which capitulated for a large amount of tribute.

From a vainglorious letter of Zimisces to the King of Armenia ⁴ we possess a royal account of the campaign. He relates that, in April, he entered Palestine, which he describes by two other titles, Phœnicia, and the Land of Canaan. With his cavalry he camped at Mount Tabor, and attacked Tiberias, which capitulated, paying him thirty thousand *tahegans*. Here delegations came to him from Jerusalem and Ramleh, and promised the capitulation of their cities and the fealty of the inhabitants to Byzantium. According to his own account, Beisan, Cæsarea, Nazareth, and Acre also capitulated, and Zimisces went to Jerusalem and reopened the churches and shrines to the pilgrims. Sidon also surrendered; but in his northern march along the coast Zimisces met with serious resistance at Wridon, near Beirut, which he took with a "fearful carnage." His letter closes with the information that by September, 970, he had completed his campaign. "At present all Phœnicia, Palestine and Syria are part of our empire, and released from Turkish servitude." The people of Jerusalem long rejoiced over their deliverance, but his death, in 976, ended Zimisces' ambitious plan to gain more than nominal rule of the lost provinces.⁵

This hurricane did not break the power of the East. After the departure of the Greeks the inhabitants of Palestine disclaimed their temporary oaths of allegiance, and the Muslims came back to Jerusalem; the Patriarch John VI. was burnt alive for presumed support of the Greeks; the Church of the Holy Sepulchre was fired, but no great damage was done. Fanaticism, however, was not at white heat during this period. In the light of contemporary habits, it can be said that at the end of the reign of the Ikhshids, and even later, the various sects lived on compatible terms in Palestine. Thus Istakhri reports, of this date, that the inhabitants of Aqaba were Jews, who held a special safeguard from the ruler in order to carry on the business of that port.⁶

IV

Of greater importance to Palestine than all these dynastic wars, and evidence that the life of the country and of its rulers

were wide apart, and often unrelated, is the fact that, in this most confused era, in the third or fourth decade of the tenth century, the orange was first brought from Al Basrah by caravan into Syria, and planted there. The bitter variety had been brought from India and planted in Oman, in 912; ⁷ thus by stages it reached Palestine to become as indigenous to the soil as the olive, the grape, the fig, and the date. The cultivation of the banana,* "a fruit in the form of a cucumber, but when the skin is peeled off, the interior is not unlike the watermelon, only finer flavored and more luscious," ⁸ is first mentioned at the latter end of this same century.[†]

The government revenue was, however, one-sixth less than it had been in the previous century; in current values about \$1,725,000 for the province of Filastin, and \$1,130,000 for the province of the Jordan. The resources of the country and its condition at this period have been fully detailed by Abu 'Abd Allah Mohammad, the son of Ahmed, the son of Abu Bakh, architect, geographer and historian, of old Persian ancestry, commonly known as "Mukaddasi" (native of Jerusalem), who was both proud and critical of his native country. Mukaddasi was born about 946, and wrote about 985. His account of Palestine agrees with his Arab predecessors, and is singularly confirmed by sources of which he had no knowledge. Syria was "the land of Prophets . . . the cynosure of the righteous and the gathering place of anchorites." To him, and all Arab writers, Palestine was the best, the most enviable part of Syria. "Fruits and abundance of crops, trees and wells . . . comfort for This world and the Next." He dwells on the importance of Damascus, "that paradise on earth"; and Degor at the south of the Dead Sea, "which for commercial prosperity is . . . a miniature Bozrah." Ramleh, "the beautiful, where the bread is white; Jerusalem the perfect, as none will deny, Emesa renowned for cheap living and good air. The mountains of Bozrah covered with vineyards, neither should be forgotten,

* A better description of the banana was written by an anonymous pilgrim in the twelfth century. He calls the plant "trees of Paradise."—P.P.T.S., VI, p. 34.

† Calcaschandi states that the crossing of the Egyptian and Persian melon was successfully effected, in Egypt, in 825.

nor Tiberias, so renowned for its crops and its villages." He reports the inhabitants of the country as including "men of wealth and of commerce, and those neither rich nor poor, also jurisprudists, booksellers, artisans and physicians."

"But the people live in fear of the Byzantines and show neither zeal for the Holy War, nor honor to those who fight against the infidel." He includes Kfar Saba as amongst the villages that "elsewhere in Asia Minor would be regarded as sumptuous towns." Palmyra is "a throne among the cities of Solomon." To Banias had migrated the Muslims who fled from Tarsus on its capture by the Greeks in 965. "It is the granary of Damascus. Its river irrigates cotton land and rice fields." The Huleh district, too, was producing much cotton, but Mukaddasi disliked Tiberias, with its eight natural hot springs, because it was dirty and full of fleas. It owed its prosperity as the commercial center of many Trans-Jordan villages, in Jabal Jaresh, and in Jabal 'Amilah. Beisan "abounded in palm trees," and raised all the rice consumed in Palestine. Megiddo was pleasant, and Kabul produced the best sugar. Ramleh, the capital of Palestine, "situated . . . in the midst of beautiful villages, and lordly towns, near to holy places and pleasant hamlets," possessed magnificent hostelries, and pleasant baths, "dainty foods and various condiments, spacious houses, fine mosques, and broad roads . . . the city occupies the area of a square mile."

"Among provincial towns none is larger than Jerusalem." But it was dirty, and lacking in scholars. Its good points were that the city was of solid stone construction, its "people chaste, provisions excellent, markets clean; grapes enormous and quinces choice." To these merits Mukaddasi adds: "Streets full of strangers. . . . He who is of the Sons of this World . . . may find a market for his wares . . . gathered together are all the fruits of the lowlands, and of the plains, and of the hill country . . . such as the orange and the almond, the date and the nut, the fig and the banana, besides milk in plenty, and honey and sugar." His complaint against the city is that "Christians are numerous, and the same are unmannerly in the public places. In the hostelries taxes are heavy on all that is

sold; there are guards at every gate, and no one is allowed to sell of the necessities of life except in the appointed places. . . . Everywhere the Christians and the Jews have the upper hand." * But "wine is not publicly consumed and there is no drunkenness. The city is devoid of houses of ill-fame, whether public or private."

In the valley of the Kedron were gardens, vineyards, and cultivated fields. "All the country around for the distance of half a stage is filled with villages and vineyards," and apple orchards. Apples were exported to Egypt, and the price quoted is equivalent to about twenty cents a thousand. . . . But a cent went so far that Mukaddasi proceeds in an exultant mood: "This then is the land which Allah—may he be exalted—has called Blessed; it is a land where on the hills are trees, and in the plains fields that need neither irrigation nor the watering of rivers." To emphasize that it was a land of plenty he quotes current prices; cheese at half a cent a pound, sugar three-and-half cents, olive oil about twenty-five cents a gallon, and raisins two-and-half pounds for two cents. Ascalon was celebrated for its silkworms, and Cæsarea was "filled with good things . . . its fruits delicious; the town is also famous for its buffalo milk † and its white bread." Nablus was a "little Damascus," and, in Jericho, grew indigo, many palms, an antidote for snake bites, bananas, dates, and "flowers of fragrant odor."

With great detail the geographer accounts for the prosperity of Palestine, from the north down to Aqaba, "a populous and beautiful city possessing many palm trees, also fish in plenty. It is the great port of Palestine and the emporium of the Hejas." As to the population, he calls attention to the "circus of Solomon," as a place of entertainment in the Belka, which could seat six thousand spectators, and to the great number of non-Muslims, who paid the poll tax. Samaritans were scattered all over the country, but there were no pagans in Palestine in his time, during which the Christians acted as scribes, while the "assayers of coin, the dyers, the bankers, and tanners are Jews." †

* This statement, which surprised the orientalist Le Strange, whose doubts have been copied in many reference works, is fully verified (see page 175).

† Presumably milk from the water-buffalo.

V

In 969 Palestine again changed its suzerain. Early in the tenth century, Mahadi Obaidallah, claiming to be a lineal descendant of Fatima, the daughter of the Prophet, and Ishmael, a grandson of Ali, won the support of the Ishmaelites, scattered throughout northern Africa. His successor had at his Tunisian Court a physician and medical author, Isaac Judæus, an Egyptian Jew (855-955).¹⁰ The Fatimid power was extended in Morocco, and the fourth Fatimid, Mu'izz abu Tamun Ma'add (952-975), advanced the family fortunes by invading Egypt. Jahwar ibn Abdallah, a Fatimid general of Greek origin, overwhelmed the Ikhshid boy-king, Abu-l-Fawaris Ahmed, and Mu'izz founded his kingdom in a new city, Kairo (later Cairo). Jahwar has been identified as Ben Paltiel, who, according to the Chronicle of Ahimaaz, was vizir to Mu'izz, and a loyal and observant Jew who contributed freely to the poor of Jerusalem. Mu'izz assumed the title of Caliph. As successor of the Prophet, through the military effort of Jafar ibn-Fellah, he entered Ramleh in 969, and took Palestine and Syria. The Carmathians did not, however, yield victory readily, and the war was carried on with interruptions for two years. The Fatimid general was slain in a battle near Damascus with the Carmathian leader, Hassan ibn-Ahmed.¹¹

Hassan, marching south and aided by the Bedouins of the Tih, seized Ramleh, and besieged Jaffa, where he was defeated and took to flight. African troops were despatched to Palestine, and the Jaffa garrison relieved. In the meantime Mu'izz died, and was succeeded by Al 'Aziz Billah Abu-Mansur Nizar (975-996). It was in this reign that Mukaddasi, writing of Jerusalem, says, "everywhere Jews and Christians have the upper hand." * This observation is fully confirmed, for Aziz's vizir was a renegade Jew from Baghdad, Jacob ibn Killis, who held that office to 991; ¹² while in 995 the vizir was a Christian Isa ibn Nestorius, and his deputy, Menasse ibn Ibrahim al-Kzaz, a Jew, was governor of Palestine.

The Jewish governor had authority over Damascus, Aleppo,

* See page 174.

Tyre, Sidon, Jerusalem and Ramleh, where there were Jewish and Samaritan officials. According to Mukaddasi this was the flourishing commercial and agricultural era of Palestine. A Jew could eulogize the Jewish governor, for having "humiliated" a number of Arab tribes,¹³ but it is self-understood that the advance of the Jews was not pleasing to the Muslims. An Arab poet wrote a satirical protest against Jewish vizirs, court doctors, and governors:

"The Jews of our times reached the goal of their desire and came to rule. Theirs is the dignity, theirs the money. Councillors of state and princes are chosen from them. Oh people of Egypt I give you advice: Become Jews, for Heaven has become Jewish."¹⁴

The period of Jewish glory—a few decades, in nine hundred years—was brief, for the Christian vizir, and the Jewish governor, favored their own kind for offices, and reduced the taxes of these two groups. Whereupon opposition arose to their joint rule, and they disappear from history. The policy of such appointments was in full agreement with the Fatimid basic attitude. They were local Shiah, and thus could have nothing in common with the typical Palestine Muslim who was an avowed partisan Sunnite.¹⁵ Moreover, their relations with the commercial cities of Italy and of France were friendly, and they did much to encourage trade with the West.

VI

While the western world was seething with millennial "expectations," and Islam in a bad way, as the year one thousand approached, fate ordained the fulfillment of one phase of the apocalyptic visions, by the accession, in 996, of the third of the Fatimid caliphs, Hakem Abu-'Ali-Mansur, better known as El Hakem. Al-Aziz was a mild and generous monarch. His son, whose mother was a Christian, the sister of Orestes, Bishop of Jerusalem,¹⁶ moved by a lust for bizarre cruelty, and fantastic expressions of hate, was a madman who comported with the conception of that evil genius, which is to rule prior to the ushering in of "the last days."

El Hakem was less than twelve years of age when he came

to the throne. For the first three years of his reign the state was involved in a court conspiracy, which produced civil war in Palestine. A white eunuch, Barjewan, was the young king's titular guardian, but Ibn 'Ammur had forced himself into the office of vizir. About 996 'Ammur sent Suleiman ibn Ja'afar (Abu Temim) to replace Manjutakim as governor general of Syria. The deposed official took his enforced dismissal unkindly, and gave battle at Ascalon, where he was defeated and sent a prisoner to Cairo. Abu Temim fixed upon Tiberias as his capital, and sent his brother, Ali, to rule Damascus. Ali was further advanced, and made governor of Tripoli. The real officeholder, Jaish ibn Samsamah, immediately proceeded to Egypt, and joined Barjewan in a struggle against Ibn 'Ammur. Barjewan won, and became vizir with a Christian, Fahd ibn Ibrahim, as *Reis*, or secretary. Abu Temim was accordingly attacked, and civil war followed. Tyre rose, and an insurrection was organized in Ramleh. Abu Temim was taken prisoner, but the Tyrians called in the aid of Greek ships. These were, however, defeated by the Caliph's forces, and Husein, the commander of the government army, sacked the city, and put the inhabitants to the sword. After much further slaughter in Syria, Jaish ibn Samsamah obtained control of Syria, and Barjewan ruled in Cairo.

In 999, however, El Hakem assumed his independence by ordering the execution of his minister, Barjewan. From this time his character betrayed its extravagances. He began his frantic career by imitating the humility of the early caliphs, and whoever saluted him with the customary titles of royalty was put to death, without trial. After indulging his subjects in all sorts of excesses he suddenly forbade women quitting their homes at night, and persecuted the Sunnites, whose creed, as a Shiah, he opposed. Having forbidden the shoemakers to make street-shoes for women, and prohibited the making and sale of fermented liquors, he extended his persecutions to the Jews and to the Christians, who had enjoyed immunities and even privileges under the tolerant reign of al 'Aziz.¹⁷ He offered them conversion, or the sequestration of their property; but in many cases the alternative was a violent death.

He commanded both groups to wear badges which distinguished them from the Muslims, and interdicted the eating of certain fruits, and all shellfish. Then he limited meat eating to the festivals. Progressively he prohibited nude bathing, and compelled women to cover their faces in public. He next attacked the memory of the Companions of the Prophet, and had their names cursed in public. Having stopped all trade after sunset, and destroyed all wine, beer and spirit vessels, he ordered all dogs to be slain. His persecutions resulted in a revolt, after which he moderated his attacks on the Muslims.

The failure of the Nile to rise to its usual height, led to his confiscating the property of the churches, and the burning of many crosses which his agents seized. After publishing a decree of tolerance in favor of his fellow Muslims, his mad caprice took the form of maiming many of the officials. He then ordered the Christians to wear a livery of black, and crosses of wood, five pounds in weight, eighteen inches wide; to use wooden saddles; to wear girdles; and retain no Muslim in their service. The Jews were first compelled to wear a chain with the picture of a calf attached, emblematical of the Druze religion, which he helped initiate, then bells so that their approach could be heard, and lastly collars of wood, weighing six pounds.¹⁸ Even the playing of chess was prohibited.

In 1010 a certain monk, named John, seeking revenge against the Patriarch of Jerusalem, Zacharias, petitioned the caliph against the church and its wealth. El Hakem, who, it is said, was incensed at the alleged annual display of "miraculous fire," formally directed the governor: "Destroy the Church of El Camamah, that its earth shall become its heaven, and its length its breadth." The Church of the Holy Sepulchre was, thereupon, destroyed.¹⁹ Churches were everywhere wrecked and plundered, or converted into mosques. The synagogues in Kjah, Ramleh, and other places, were dealt with in a like manner. The mad monarch set up courts to deal with the property he had sequestered, but distributed with a liberal hand. Occasional fits of remorse seized him, but after each suspension of his bizarre regulations, he re-introduced them with new variations and increasing severities.

Inspired by some emissaries of the Bateni sect, of whom the first apostle was Mohammad ibn Ismail Darazi, from whom the Druzes take their name, El Hakem now posed as a divine person, claiming not only to be the Caliph but an incarnation of the Deity—the Mahdi himself.²⁰ The pilgrimage to Mecca was discontinued, and Muslim customs were as much derided by the insane ruler, and his followers, as the Christians and Jews were persecuted. The opposition to this new faith compelled its leaders to flee to the Lebanon, where they found supporters among the old sun-worshippers.

El Hakem was strangled, at the age of thirty-six, at the instigation of his sister. Few official murders have been more applauded, than the killing of this monarch in the midst of his crazy rites. By his policy he put an end to the good relations that existed between the Egyptian and the Frank merchants; he forced thousands of people to flee his kingdom, spread a knowledge of the persecution of the pilgrims and of the profanation of the sacred places, and forced the Jews into hiding. Some time before his death he relented somewhat, and permitted the rebuilding of churches in Jerusalem. Some sixteen thousand persons accepted the new Druze religion, one of the tenets of which is said to be a belief in the reincarnation of El Hakem. Seven thousand persons, who had apostatized in his reign, were permitted to return to their native faiths, in the days of his successor.

Apparently a temporary building was erected on the site of the Holy Sepulchre, for there is an allusion to it in the account of the earthquake of 1016, when the great cupola of the Dome fell upon the Sacred Rock, and the candelabra, some five hundred, were destroyed. But a much more destructive earthquake took place on December 5, 1033, when part of the walls of Jerusalem, the Tower of David, and other structures fell to the ground. Ramleh suffered severely, one-third of that town being destroyed. Many villages were swallowed up and thousands were killed in the ruins.

A letter from the rabbi of Ramleh, the Gaon, Solomon ben Yehuda,²¹ relates: "This event took place alike in Ramleh, in the whole of Filastin, from fortified cities to open villages . . .

from the sea to Fort Dan . . . on Thursday. . . . In some places the waters in the cisterns reached the brims. . . . Two great rainbows appeared. One of them split in halves, and fire was visible from the southwest. Thereupon the earthquake took place the like of which has not been seen since early times. . . . On Friday as well as on the following night the quakes recurred. All were terrified and fear stricken." A great tidal wave accompanied the earthquake; the displacement of the sea was noticed at Jaffa and elsewhere on the coast.²²

William of Tyre said the tremors lasted forty days, and were fatal to many at Jerusalem, owing to the falling-in of churches and of private dwellings.

VII

In 1021 Adh-Dhahir, then only sixteen years of age, succeeded his father, and the empire was ruled by his aunt, as regent. This feminine rule was resisted by various pretenders to authority, and the whole of Adh-Dhahir's reign, which ended in 1036, was a period of wars, plagues, earthquakes, famine, and the pilgrims were few.

A rebellion was organized by three men who individually set out at the head of detachments to capture Ramleh, Damascus, and Aleppo. Hassan, the ablest of these rebels, of the tribe of the Banu Jarrah, plundered Ramleh, and extorted large sums from Jerusalem. One of the exactions reported by the Jews of Jerusalem amounted to twenty-two thousand five hundred dollars.²³ He was, however, defeated at a battle south of Tiberias. Ramleh, which had been the main resource of the Jerusalem Jews, was in ruins, and only fifty Jewish families could sustain themselves in the Holy City. These, however, still paid the tax, amounting to seven hundred and fifty dollars, in return for which the pilgrims were allowed to assemble on the Mount of Olives, and pray facing the Temple ruins.

The records of the period, however, indicate that, despite this poverty, the Rabbanites and the Karaites were continually squabbling for supremacy. In 1024 the caliph interfered in these quarrels. The Rabbanites had established a Gaonate for themselves. The two groups were ordered to tolerate each

other. Evidently the Karaites were more favored by the authorities, for the governor of Ramleh was repeatedly called upon to interfere in these differences. One grievance seems to have been that the Rabbanites, secretly, excommunicated the Karaites,²⁴ and the issuance of the ban was forbidden. The edict of Adh-Dhahir, "take good care of the two divisions of the Jews whom the covenant made with their sect protects,"²⁵ was addressed to the Emir Al Yuyush, known as Anustegin ad Dizbiri, who was sent to conquer Hassan's followers.

Adh-Dhahir died from the plague in 1027, and was succeeded by his seven-year-old son, Ma'add,²⁶ the child of a Sudanese slave, presented to the caliph by a Jew, Abu Sa'ad Ibrahim, who exercised a great deal of influence at the court, and presented many gifts of great value to the young ruler. Abu Sa'ad and a renegade Jew named Ali al-Hassan, are said to have been vizirs for some time during the rule of Ma'add, who took the name of Al Mustansir Billah. His reign, one of the longest in oriental history, lasted from 1030 to 1094. It witnessed, in its first phase, a return of prosperity to Palestine.

Abu Mu'in Nasir, son of Khuzrau, better known as Nasr-i-Khuzrau,²⁷ who visited Palestine about 1047, relates that "there are years when as many as twenty thousand people were present at Jerusalem during the first days of the pilgrimage month." There were that number of men on the occasion of his visit in Jerusalem, which he regarded as "a very great city," with its separate bazaars for every craft. This Persian traveller explained the wealth and prosperity of Jerusalem as being due to the excellent cultivation of the land, its corn, olives, figs and oranges and citrons growing from Ramleh to Kfar Saba and Cæsarea, the roads being lined with trees. At Sidon, which raised much sugar cane, "the gardens and orchards of the town are such that one might say each was a pleasure laid out at the fancy of some king." Tyre, which had not suffered in the civil struggle, was still great in the "quantity of wealth exposed." Acre was two thousand ells long, and five hundred broad, while Haifa, a mere village, had a shipbuilding industry and exported a fine sand for goldsmith's work to all parts of the East.

Ramleh, in which Khuzrau found a reference to the great earthquake of 1033, had "marble in plenty, most of the buildings and private houses are of that material." But the great source of wealth was olive oil. "The chief men harvest as much as 50,000 manns weight (about 16,800 gallons) of olive oil. It is kept in tanks and pits, and they export thereof to other countries."

Much of this prosperity was destroyed by the great earthquake of 1067. Of Ramleh only two houses remained standing, and twenty-five thousand persons are estimated to have been killed by the quakes throughout Palestine. Owing to a seven-year drought in Egypt, most of the population died, only the young surviving.³⁸ Piracy seriously affected the coastal trade, prisoners were ransomed, and we read of the poor Jews of Jerusalem sharing in the cost of such ransoms, though the plague, in 1057, reduced the inhabitants of the cities. Jerusalem had in the meantime somewhat recovered from the havoc wrought by the orders of Hakem. On the ruins of Modestus' great church Michael IV., emperor of Byzantium, in 1048 raised some "poor chapels," Mustansir Billah agreeing to this, and the exchange of five thousand Muslim prisoners, and a thirty years' truce. The merchants of Amalfi aided in this work of restoration, by rebuilding the hospice of Charlemagne.

Fate was, however, moving relentlessly towards a general upheaval in the political conditions of Palestine. In 1071 the long reign of Mustansir was interrupted by the invasion of Syria and Palestine by the Seljuk Turks of Khorassan. The Turks came slowly but relentlessly into the foreground of Near Eastern affairs. From bodyguards of the caliph they had gradually won their way to ascendancy at the court of the Abbasides, displacing the Persians, and keeping the native princes at a distance from the ruler. Around the year one thousand they appeared as the resuscitating force in Islam, on the side of the Sunnite creed.

Toghrul Bey, grandson of the Seljuk, after subduing Persia, was, in 1055, made emir of Omara, "chief of the forces," for putting down a revolt against the Abbaside rule, which had disturbed some of the provinces. Employing the ancient Turk-

ish title of Sultan, Toghrul became the real ruler, and the caliph was reduced to the position of spiritual head of Islam. The Baghdad caliph only intermittently and briefly recovered the temporal power, though theoretically his authority was recognized in many courteous, but meaningless missives.

Mustansir Billah was a Shiah, and therefore maintained the traditional opposition to the orthodoxy, which the Turks proclaimed, and which they championed with the sword. This was good enough excuse for war. In the van of the Seljuks were the wild Turcomans of Central Asia, behind them the Kharezmians, Kurds and Uigers, whose common agreement was a hatred both of Islam and Christianity. But it was as the advocates of the true faith that the Seljuks advanced to power.

In 1063 Alp Arslan, "the brave lion," nephew of Toghrul, conquered Asia Minor, and took the Byzantine emperor, Romanus Diogenes, prisoner. The conqueror did not long enjoy his victory. He was assassinated by a Kharezmian. His son, Melek Shah, the greatest and most redoubtable of the Seljuks, extended his authority from Egypt to the borders of India, and twelve times made the circuit of his great domain. Incidental to this imperial advance, which elsewhere than in Palestine was an era of intellectual splendor, Isar el Atziz, acting in the name of the Caliph of Baghdad, invaded Palestine. Having discomfited an army of Arabs in a night attack at Tiberias, and having captured Amman in Moab, the Seljuk general made an orderly but slow advance through the country. He remained at Ramleh long enough to restore some parts of the town, which was still a mass of ruins. But the Egyptians stopped his progress at Jaffa, so he swung inland and besieged Jerusalem. The city was starved into submission and nine thousand of its inhabitants slain, in 1071.

Atziz could not, however, overcome the resistance of either Tyre or Acre, and therefore obtained control only of Galilee and Judea. Nevertheless, meditating an attack on Egypt, he set out with his army for Gaza. Here he was met by a large Egyptian force, and his army routed. He escaped with a handful of men to Gaza, where he was again attacked. Atziz made

good his escape to Damascus, but there Tutush, another son of Alp Arslan, executed him for having suffered defeat.

Tutush advanced through Palestine on Egypt in 1078. As part of this conquest Ortok ibn Ekses, a Turk, was made governor of Syria, and the Sunnite creed proclaimed, as the true and abiding faith. Two sons of Ortok, El Ghazi and Sukman, ruled Palestine from Jerusalem, acting with great barbarity, after Tutush was murdered in 1095. The cruelties of these joint governors were among the chief and most immediate causes of the Crusade.

The Seljuk control of Egypt was brief, for on the death of Melek Shah, Al Mustali, the second son of Al Mustansir Billah, became Fatimid Caliph in Cairo. But between Egyptian and Turkish struggles the whole country was reduced to chaos. The local governors ceased to recognize the authority of the suzerain. "No man setting forth could tell whom he might find to be the Muslim master of Jerusalem."²⁰ In 1096 Jerusalem rebelled, and for a space of two years freed itself from Seljuk rule, but it fell into other tyrannical hands. Trade was paralyzed, pilgrimages became dangerous hazards. "Tartar Sunnee was as intolerant as the Shiah of the South."²⁰ The great stage was set for change. The Muslims were not unaware of the storm brewing in the west, but even after Antioch had fallen, in 1098, into Crusaders' hands, El-Afdal ibn Bedr, vizir of Al Mustali, took Tyre from the Seljuks with great slaughter, and then captured Jerusalem. So far apart were the Muslims, in the period of great crisis.

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CHAPTER IX

THE FIRST CRUSADE—1090 TO 1100

"THROUGHOUT Western Christendom a whisper ran that the end of the world was approaching. A thousand years had nearly elapsed since the Church of Christ was founded. The second advent of the founder was to happen when this period was accomplished . . . the advent was to take place in Palestine."¹ "*Appropinquante etenim mundi termino et ruinis crebrescentibus jam certa signa manifestantur, pertimescens tremendi judicii diem.*" So ran the salutation on legal documents of the period, sufficient explanation for the bleaching of the bones of hundreds of thousands, who struggled through western Europe into hostile Hungary, half-pagan Bulgaria, indifferent Byzantium, to die in the wilds of northern Asia Minor. It explains, too, the finest scene of all that blood-swamped struggle, when the real Crusaders finally encamped around Jerusalem. "After a fast of three days and solemn services, the Crusaders solemnly went in procession, barefooted, and bareheaded round the city,"² as once the Israelites had marched around Jericho.

Into this craving for the millennium was thrown the ferment of stories of the ill usage of pilgrims. In the middle of the ninth century, Frotmond, a Breton penitent, left a record, vague but disturbing, of the persecution of the pilgrims. The brief capture of Palestine by John Zimisces, a few decades later, was animated by Greek ambition, but its excuse was the abuse of pilgrims and the closing of the Holy Places. Gerbert, afterwards Pope Sylvester II., returning from his pilgrimage in 986, published a letter in which he made Jerusalem deplore her misfortunes, and supplicated the whole Christian world to come to her aid. Randolph, Bishop of Périgueux, witnessed the destruction of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre by the orders of El

Hakem, and in reporting it in Europe, the Bishop professed to know that the outrages had been instigated by the Jews of Orléans,⁸ a charge which may have contributed to the subsequent wholesale massacre of the Jews in the Rhineland.

During the Hakem persecutions enormous tribute was exacted from the Christians, and some thousands of churches are reported to have been destroyed in Egypt. Later, when the churches of Jerusalem were restored, a grant was made to the Franciscans in 1023, but the rapidly accumulated rich treasures were again plundered.

Political conditions were wholly unfavorable to pilgrimage, but the millennial excitement in Europe, accelerated by the great Palestine earthquake of 1033, resulted in the organization of pilgrimages on a scale hitherto unknown. "Armies of the Lord" wended their way to Jerusalem on foot. The most imposing of these groups was that led by the Archbishop Siegfried of Mainz, who, in 1065, came to Palestine with seven thousand pilgrims drawn from every class in western Europe. So far from opposing the passage of this crowd, the emir of Ramleh actually rescued it from an attack threatened by Bedouins. The greater complaint against the Muslim authorities was that the governor of Jerusalem exacted an *aureus* (about five dollars) from every pilgrim entering the city. The Jews of Jerusalem paid an annual fee to cover the admission of all Jewish pilgrims. The exaction, judging by the customs of the age, was not unfair—poll, admission, and passport taxes are not unknown even in this day, and elsewhere than in Palestine.

Many of the Christian pilgrims, however, not only arrived penniless, but in a mood that craved immediate death. "Thou who hast died for us, and art buried in this sacred place, take pity on our misery, and withdraw us from this vale of tears." "So ran the prayer which hundreds of them learnt by rote as they approached Jerusalem. Robert, Duke of Normandy, paid the fee for a large concourse of pilgrims he found huddled outside the gates, when he arrived before the Holy City in 1035. Crowds of ragged and starving pilgrims sat disconsolate before the gates, waiting for just such charity from some goodly company of rich bishops or of courteous knights." Once inside the

walls the visitors were exposed to insult, and the clergy to abuse. Even the Patriarch was plucked from his seat by the beard.⁸ The Jews seemed to have been treated differently, for a letter, dated 1051, reports "the pilgrims arrived in song, prayed and returned home cheerfully."⁹ The city was crowded by Greeks, Copts, Syrians, Georgians, Jacobites, and Armenians—Christians of the East,⁸ who regarded the visiting Latins as a menace, and who were as capable of attacking the latter, as were the Muslims. To the throng was added the Jewish dyers, and the army of traders,⁹ the garrison, and the Muslim population.

Propaganda organized over eight hundred years ago will neither bear nor repay too close scrutiny. No doubt the capture of Palestine by the Seljuks aggravated conditions, for in 1072, Manuel VII., who reigned seven fretful years on the slippery throne of Byzantium, appealed to Pope Gregory VII. for aid in the recapture of the Holy Sepulchre from infidels, who, in this case, turned their swords as much against Muslims, as against Christians. The Pope, who was the great advocate of Christian unity, was willing to aid in the enterprise, but the time was not yet ripe for the great adventure. It was in 1094, when Al Mustali came to the Fatimid throne of Egypt, and El Ghazi and Sukman, sons of Ortok, were the barbarous governors of Jerusalem, that there came to the city Peter, a knight of gentle birth from Picardy, who shocked by his environment, and sympathetic to the complaints of Simeon the patriarch, hastened back to Europe, and stormed the world by his eloquence. It was the tongue of Peter the Hermit that decided the policy of Pope Urban II., and unleashed the fanaticism of Europe with its great cry, "God wills."

The Crusade was a full century in the making. Sylvester II., Hildebrand, and others, had preached it. In 1086 a Pisan squadron raided the shores of Africa, and added considerably to the Muslim irritation. "In Peter's zeal the shrewd Pope Urban saw an instrument by which he would do more than any had before been able to do to strengthen the power of the Holy See."¹⁰ From William of Tyre's jeremiad it is clear that the times were sadly out of joint for the church. "The people were

faithful only in name; princes and subjects, clergy and laity, had all alike departed from purity both of faith and morals. . . . The bishops instead of correcting the prevailing abuses were grossly negligent, 'dumb dogs not able to bark.' " ¹¹

The King of France, and the Emperor of Germany, were under the ban; the King of England was an avowed unbeliever and scoffer. The Eastern Church held apart from Rome; creed, and imperial Byzantine policy, providing ample antagonisms. For the Papacy, therefore, the raising of the Holy War was a shrewd political move. When taking the Cross many thousands of knights and lords pawned their property to go to the war. Men and goods disappeared. The Papacy, supported by the prestige of Jerusalem, gained that mastery which it had so long and eagerly sought.

An equally inciting motive in the stimulation of the Crusade into action was the adventurous and ambitious spirit of the knights, who were the important factor in the great feudal system which had riveted its chains on Europe. "Feudalism was the first-born of barbarism," ¹² and its lusts needed further outlets. The Normans were the van of the conquering element in Europe. They had invaded England, and by capturing Sicily from the Greeks, obtained a firm grip on the western Mediterranean. The success of the Sicilian enterprise may be considered as the point of departure, from which the Normans, having reached their furthest west, could turn with interest to the possession of the eastern lands." For in the East there was fabulous wealth. To the frugal Henry of Bourgogne, Sicily was sufficient proof of what was beyond. To Bohemond, the offer of an oriental principality, to be won by the sword, was a natural appeal to his ambitions. The son of Robert Guiscard had an old score to settle with the Greeks.

It is, therefore, entirely characteristic of the First, and only successful Crusade, that it was a military company made up largely of German Lorrainers, French Normans, and Italians. They were the strong, the hardy, and the adventurous in an age, when, according to William of Tyre, "nature itself gave tokens of approaching judgments, for there were prodigies in

heaven and signs upon earth; pestilence and famine and earthquake."

Hallam ignored all these portents and viewed the Crusades "as martial pilgrimages on an enormous scale, and their influence upon general morality seems to have been wholly pernicious. . . . Several historians attest the depravity of morals which existed both among the Crusaders and in the states formed out of their conquests." ¹⁴ To this *mélange* of contradictory purposes and motives must be added the low state of knowledge and education which sent a million wanderers to early graves; the interest of the Mediterranean merchants, to whom the later Crusades were so much shipping and commercial opportunities, and who were willing to turn an honest, or even doubtful penny by dealing with the infidel, and who at every occasion bargained for their pound of flesh, and something more substantial.

The fanatic zeal which overshadows the Crusades undoubtedly moved that mass of humans whose misfortunes we shall describe, but, even so, it swayed less than half the Christian world. Religious fervor gripped only a comparative few of those who actually took Palestine. "The Germans were but slightly affected by the universal enthusiasm—the English not at all." ¹⁵ The Byzantine emperors were perfectly willing to receive aid, in whatever effort they could make to recover their "lost provinces," but they cautiously refrained from mixing in the religious phase of the Crusade, and opposed, as best they could, the Latin hierarchy and the Norman kings in the East. The great factional differences between the Roman and Eastern churches were so marked throughout the whole crusading era, that the divergence is apparent in all the codes compiled by the Latins in Palestine.

Whether the Crusaders were well informed as to the politics of the Near East may be doubted, but their determination to invade Palestine synchronized with the bitter struggle between Seljuk and Fatimid, while the Abbaside monarch in Baghdad was a mere shadow of authority. Muslim opposition to the infidels was at its lowest ebb at a time when it needed to reach its greatest heights.

II

A truce of God, which lasted six months, during the winter of 1095-6, enabled Europe to prepare for the First Crusade. But those impatient of the military preparations went ahead. Whole villages moved *en masse* toward the east under Walter the Penniless, asking at every place whether that was Jerusalem. Peter the Hermit led another such vagrant procession. A monk, named Gottschalk, led a third; and the fourth, under Volkmar, who organized the massacre of the Jews in the Rhineland, anticipated the forward movement of the military host. These half-armed zealots were waylaid in Hungary, and great numbers were killed in Bulgaria; the survivors assembled in Constantinople, and were practically wiped out at Nicæa, south of the Bosphorous. Of the mighty host of one hundred thousand that reached Constantinople, not more than three thousand escaped destruction.

The real army was organized by Godfrey of Bouillon, Duke of Lorraine, who led ten thousand horsemen and eighty thousand foot. With him were his brother, Baldwin, and Raymond of Toulouse, neither pious nor faithful, interested in wealth and power, and commanding Provencals "who could plunder better than they could pray;"¹⁰ ranking high was Robert of Normandy, a born fighter, who was without ambition, except on the battle field, and who, when his work was done, returned home; Bohemond, "a whole cubit taller than the tallest man in the army," crafty and sagacious, his life a series of battles; Tancred, the hero of romance, and the quondam Prince of Galilee, always first on the battle field, but useless in council; Hugh, Count of Vermandois, third son of Henry I. of France; Robert of Flanders, "sword and lance of the Christians," a first-class fighting man; Stephen, Count of Blois; captains, squires, knights, and bowmen; bishops, monks, women, and children in the train; in all, some million people.

By different routes the armies reached Constantinople, crossed the straits and, at Nicæa, avenged the slaughter of the rabble that preceded them. Alexis, the Byzantine emperor, met this army coldly. Bohemond described him as "the most fero-

cious wild beast and most wicked man alive," because, while he solicited aid for the recapture of Syria, he refused to join the Crusaders. On the contrary, he stole a march on the Latins, for when they were besieging Nicæa he gained admission to the town, and raised his own flag over it. In the summer of 1097 the Crusaders fought their first pitched battle with the Saracens. Four thousand Christians and twenty-three thousand Saracens were slain. After the victory, progress was slow. Antioch, five miles in circumference, with its three hundred and sixty Byzantine towers and turrets, was not invested till 1098. In the meantime, Baldwin captured Edessa, famous for its Syriac university, and Tancred seized Alexandretta.

The minor victories, and major stalemates, produced conflicting policies. While Alexis offered to support the Arabs, the Fatimid vizir, Melek al Afdhal, offered his support to the Crusaders against the Seljuk Turks. The Egyptians brought the Crusading chiefs presents of fabulous value. To Godfrey, fourteen thousand pieces of gold, thirty cloaks, and vases of gold and silver; to Bohemond, sixteen thousand pieces of gold, fifteen purple mantles, precious vases, rich rugs, and an Arab horse bridled and saddled with gold mountings. He apparently was regarded by the Egyptians as the real leader, but other commanders were given proportionate presents.¹⁷ The Soldiers of the Cross accepted the gifts, but resisted the overtures. They encamped before Antioch, which, though guarded by twenty-five thousand Seljuks, fell in June, 1098, when Bohemond raised the Norman flag on its walls and took possession. Taking advantage of the Turkish concentration in Antioch, Melek al Afdhal attacked Tyre, which after some resistance fell, and then proceeded to besiege Jerusalem. That city held out for forty days, and then capitulated. It was therefore Egyptian, and not Seljuk Turkish troops which held Jerusalem, when the Crusaders reached the city of their hopes.

The winter of 1098 was employed by the Crusaders in organizing the government of Antioch and of the other Syrian provinces which they had captured. They lingered at Tripoli, amazed and delighted with a new experience—sugar cane. They found it growing luxuriantly at Sidon and in the Jordan

valley, and everywhere partook of it greedily. The cane had been brought from Kuzistan by Persian Jews who settled Tripoli under Caliph Mu'awiya (661-680).¹⁸ The Crusaders thus postponed their crossing of the Orontes till the spring of 1099. The invading forces were divided into two armies, one that followed the river, eastward, and the other which followed the coast, southward. In May this coastal division, keeping in close touch with the Genoese ships, which carried the supplies, entered the Plain of Sharon. The Egyptians in their retreat destroyed the great church of St. George at Lydda, fearing the rafters would be used for battering rams in the siege of Jerusalem. The harbor at Jaffa was likewise ruined by them; they deserted Ramleh in such haste that the Crusaders were able to provision themselves from what the inhabitants of that city had left behind. A great camp for all the Latin regiments was made between Lydda and Ramleh, and the attack on Jerusalem planned.

III

Three divisions were formed. St. Gilles, whose name has been preserved in the town of Sinjil, led his army by way of Shechem. Godfrey approached Jerusalem from the Jaffa road, while Tancred led his three hundred knights to Bethlehem, and captured that town, after which he turned to Jerusalem.

Cries of *Allah-hu-Akbar!* greeted Tancred's mail-clad knights when the first glint of their Norman spears was seen on the top of Olivet. There were forty thousand persons in Jerusalem. Iftikar ed-Duleh, the Fatimid governor, prepared for the assault on the city as soon as news reached him of the southward movement of the Latins. He restored the fortifications, and provisioned the city for a siege. The Christians were compelled to subscribe fourteen thousand *aurei* for the defense; then all, except the aged, sick women, and children, were expelled.

On June 10, 1099, the main body of the Crusading army reached the heights of Emmaus, and beheld Jerusalem. The knights leapt from their horses, and marched forward barefooted, shouting, "Lift up your eyes oh Jerusalem, thy re-

deemer cometh.”¹⁹ Bishop and monk, prince and peasant, twenty thousand fighting men, and as many camp followers, knelt together in the dust, and wept to see the long-desired city.²⁰ Tancred’s first mad effort to capture the city single-handed, by mounting a scaling ladder, failed. Jerusalem refused to fall so easily. A siege was organized, and the lines of the attack made by Titus, one thousand and thirty years before, were closely copied. But the Crusaders were not prepared for this struggle, and lacked the implements of siege war. Once, however, this was overcome, it is evident that Godfrey, who took command, closely followed the details, even to the disposition of his troops and of his personal camp, described so minutely by Josephus. The Muslims adopted the same tactics of defense resorted to by the ancient Jews; the brunt of both sieges took place in the same season—midsummer.

The Crusaders suffered greatly from thirst. Water was lacking and had to be brought from a considerable distance. Soldiers and female camp followers alike collapsed under the blazing sky. Fear of an invasion from Egypt spread, and of a possible attack in the rear. Some trees—aloes, terebinths, and cypress—grew around Jerusalem, but were of no use for battering rams and military towers. The prospects of the attack were exceedingly slender, until a Syrian led Robert of Normandy and the Count of Flanders to a forest at some distance from Jerusalem.*

But even this supply did not suffice, for the defenders destroyed the towers as soon as they were placed in position, and

* The existence of this forest, the “enchanted forest” of Tasso’s *Deliverance of Jerusalem*, was located by a French officer, M. Paultre, who accompanied Napoleon’s army in its march from Jaffa to Acre in 1799. M. Paultre observes that he found a forest of great oaks, yielding nutgalls, near Arsuf, between Lydda and Antipatris, and compares it to the celebrated forest of Fontainebleau. He calls it the forest of Arona. The trees were of great age, the girth of the trunks equal to a man’s embrace, the branches seven and eight inches thick, the trees twenty-five to thirty feet high. He believed the wood was very hard, of excellent quality, but of little use in carpentry.—Michaud, II, pp. 514-524. Pococke, however, saw this forest at an earlier date, 1737. Sailing along the coast, he noticed the forest of Cæsarea, and, “a great quantity of wood lying on the sea-shore to be embarked for Egypt” (II, p. 52). Volney, too, noticed it, in 1785: “The country of Cæsarea possesses a forest of oaks, the only one in Syria” (II, p. 180). Traces of this forest are occasionally found in the process of clearing the land for the modern orange-grove development in this district.

Godfrey had almost given up hope of capturing the city when William and Primus Embriaci, of Genoa, arrived at Jaffa with food, carpenters' tools, and skilled artisans. The Egyptians attacked the Genoese fleet, but the latter landed its valuable cargo, and bargained with the Crusaders for their aid. Only one prince had cash left, and he used it to pay the Genoese who speedily built siege towers, and cut down the rest of the trees of the "enchanted forest." Further aid came from a fleet that brought Pisans. But the Muslims, using petroleum in their Greek fire, flung it, and boiling pitch and oil, on the towers and on their assailants.

The Crusaders were in despair. Fasts were proclaimed, processions held, and Arnold of Rouen, chaplain of the Duke of Normandy, exhorted the soldiers to struggle. Even enchantments were used against the unyielding walls.*

The siege lasted forty days, thirty of which were spent in preparations while the Muslims indulged in sorties, flame throwing, and jeering the soldiers from the battlements. On July 14 the clarion was sounded throughout the camp for a mass attack, but the day passed with indifferent success. An unquiet, fearful night followed. In the dawn of Friday, July 15, Godfrey announced that he saw "*miles splendidus et refulgens*," St. George, in shining armor, urging the troops from the Mount of Olives.²¹ The Arabs, on the other hand, claim that, in the hour of defeat, an eclipse occurred, and the stars were seen shining in the noonday sky. The battle lasted from dawn till midday.

Godfrey led his men at the drawbridge. Tancred attacked the rear gate of the city. At length the drawbridge yielded, and "Godfrey, first of the Latins, stood fighting on the walls, and won for Germany the crowning victory of Christendom."† Two friars, and some knights, entered with the victorious general. They penetrated the streets, and indiscriminately slew all in their path. At almost the same time the northern gate

* "In the middle of the day they brought two magicians—witches it is said. They made their incantations on the walls, attended by their maidens."—Besant, p. 206. The incident is also related by Michaud (I, p. 408), and appears in Tasso's poem.

† Conder, p. 66. He stands on a technical fact. But Godfrey, and his successors, regarded themselves as Norman French—Latins—not Teutons.

yielded. The Crusaders were masters of Jerusalem. The Count of Toulouse, entering by the western gate, caught the mob fleeing before Godfrey's troops. The streets were speedily drenched with blood. A mass of people, endeavoring to escape from the street fighting, sought refuge in the Dome of the Rock. Tancred pursued them. He was the first to enter the building. "He was occupied with rapine, and pillaged the vast riches of the building."²² The great marble platform was deluged, ankle deep with blood. Ten thousand of the enemy are said to have been slain in this space. As it had been agreed that each knight should have for booty whatever he could seize, the inhabitants were ejected from their homes, and mostly killed. In two days Tancred took away in loot from the Dome of the Rock twenty golden candelabra, one hundred and twenty silver candelabra, the great lamp, and other precious ornaments.²³

Seven days of carnage followed the Christian entry into Jerusalem. All eye-witnesses agree as to its horrors and excesses. The rabbinical leaders of the Jews had escaped to Damascus, but the congregation was gathered into the synagogue and set on fire; building and human contents were devoured by the flames.²⁴

An Arab account of the fall of Jerusalem is singularly brief:

"They became masters of it on the dawn of the morning of the day of assembly [Friday] in the year 482, and killed therein a great number of Mussulmans for the space of seven days. And it is said that in the Mosque Al Aksa they killed more than seventy thousand; and they took from the Sacra vessels of gold and silver, wealth preserved in the strong boxes; and on this account the Mussulmans were agitated to the utmost degree of commotion, in every region."²⁵

IV

There was one great pause in the first day's carnage. "When the arms of the conquerors were wearied, and the swords blunt with slaughter . . . the whole multitude . . . with bare feet, and groans and tears"²⁶ rushed to the holy sites. This exalted mood disappeared, as suddenly as it arose, and the most savage destruction of life and property was enacted on the third day

after the capture of the city, and continued until the victors were satiated with revenge. After ten days of murder, plunder, and prayer, the city was purified, and cleared of its Muslim inhabitants. At the suggestion of Robert of Normandy the leaders met to choose a king. The office fell naturally to the "blameless knight," Godfrey of Bouillon, the wisest and best of the Latin princes.

In the fullness of his strength, about forty years of age, and like all the Normans, of a ruddy complexion, Godfrey was courteous, simple, and unostentatious. As sensitive to his environment as 'Omar had been, the new king disdained a royal title, and refused to don the crown. This tall and attractive man, the real hero of Christendom, was "the first king of Christian Jerusalem, the only one of all the Crusaders whose life was pure, whose motives were disinterested, whose end and aim was the glory of God."²⁷

The Crusades produced two other soldier heroes, Richard of England, and his great superior, Saladin. Romance has entwined itself around the name of Tancred, but Godfrey was the real knight errant, and far more spiritually minded than the prelates or monks who surrounded him, and of a finer mold than any of his royal or clerical successors. "They led him in solemn procession to the Sepulchre, with psalms and hymns . . . and known henceforth only as a duke and vassal of the Church, he took upon his shoulder the weight of anxious rule."²⁸

It was Godfrey's task to found the feudal system in Palestine and Syria. It was afterwards developed to a perfection which rivalled what had been accomplished in the same direction in Europe. Though he outlined the main divisions of the system immediately, so that Raymond of Toulouse had reason, by being deprived of the Castle of David, for withdrawing from the Crusading forces, the days following his election were full of anxiety. Godfrey's high and unselfish spirit found few imitators. Knights and prelates quarreled, but the whole army was terrified into discipline when the news reached Jerusalem that an avenging army was en route from Egypt.

An Arabian poet wrote of the loss of Jerusalem: "we mingle

our tears with our blood," but the Abbaside Caliph could do no more than coöperate with the Fatimid Caliph of Cairo. Afdhal, who only eleven months before had taken Jerusalem from the Seljuks, now crossed Sinai with a great force. The Muslim world was hastily, but ineffectually, united for the re-deliverance of Jerusalem. Nubians, and Egyptians, and Arabs from Damascus and Baghdad joined forces. The despatches from the reconnoitering force under Tancred, Eustace of Boulogne, and Robert of Flanders contained desperate tidings. A great penitential service was held in Jerusalem, and then Godfrey moved his army out of the city. But some of the princes had no further interest in fighting, and had to be impressed for battle by the clamor of their men.

The Christians marched to Ramleh, and Bishop Arnold elevated the True Cross at the Wady Sorek, where thousands of cattle were wandering around and became welcome booty. To prevent a sortie of the Egyptians who held Ascalon, Godfrey divided his army. While Raymond separated the Egyptians from their fleet, Tancred, and the Dukes of Normandy and of Flanders attacked the right wing and center of the invading Muslims. Despite the ferocity of the Negro attack, the Christians penetrated the Egyptian lines. Robert Courthose seized the Egyptian standard from the bearer next to Afdhal, whereupon the Muslims fled panic-stricken, and Afdhal managed to escape to Ascalon. This battle, which proved a complete rout for the Muslims, fought at Ibelin (Jamnia), was the greatest and most conclusive battle of the Crusades, and the first one, as many historians note, in which no miracles are alleged to have happened.²⁹

Both sides were exhausted. The majority of the princes, who were not given fiefs, returned to Europe, and Godfrey was left with no more than three hundred knights and two thousand foot soldiers with which to subjugate the country. For this his forces were too meagre, and his attempt to capture Arsuf failed. Two new armed bodies, under Conrad of Hohenstauffen and Wolf of Bavaria, came to Palestine. With this support Godfrey attempted to invade the Trans-Jordan lands. With one hundred thousand men, monks, and women, and a mob of

twenty thousand pilgrims, who had been harassed by the Arabs, an attack on Baghdad was attempted. It was defeated by the Turks, who by 1101 were in possession of all roads that led from the Black Sea ports to Syria.

A new policy was therefore introduced. The Crusaders made treaties with the infidels. Agreements were made with the Egyptians in Acre, Ascalon, and Cæsarea, and with the Arabs in Damascus and Aleppo, so that Galilee could be cleared of the enemy. By this means Tancred came into possession of all of Galilee to Banias, by 1102. Even so, the roads were infested by the enemy. The Anglo-Saxon, Saewulf, a merchant from Worcester, England, in his unvarnished report of his two-day trip from Jaffa to Jerusalem, relates that the "Saracens lie in wait in the caves of the mountain to surprise the Christians . . . numbers of human bodies lie scattered in the way, and by the wayside torn to pieces by wild beasts,"⁸⁰ travellers were afraid to linger on the roads and dig graves. Bethlehem and Nazareth were uninhabitable, the Arabs having destroyed everything except a few monasteries. Jericho was intact, "a land covered with trees, and producing all kinds of palms and other fruits."

Godfrey was not fated to restore these places. In the northern campaign he caught fever in the Huleh swamp and, being hastily carried to Jaffa, died there in his early forties. . . . By his clemency and justice he had won the good will and esteem of the resident Muslim population, and his death was greatly deplored. "He was a model both as prince and soldier. His were the virtues of the heroic age, and his memory was the finest souvenir of the Crusades."

V

Jalal Aldin⁸¹ summarizes the achievement of the Crusades in a few words. "Then the Franks obtained possession of many regions and shores . . . and became masters of Jaffa . . . and Cæsarea . . . and assumed the government over these regions and coasts, and over the castles and forts therein." As to the effect of the system of government, he is less laconic: "They ruled as princes, also over all the tracts of country, and produc-

tions of the soil, and fields therein, and received taxes from the fruits in the meadows of cities. And the devil impelled upon them their exactions, and the exhaustion these fiends made, and the injustice these vagabond tyrants committed; nor did the Holy City, and the neighboring regions and coasts, cease to remain in the hands of the Franks, destitute of help, for more than ninety years." ²²

Godfrey, in his march to Jerusalem, had avoided the principal port towns, and these long remained in the possession of the enemy. The territorial divisions which he introduced, composed the principalities, countships, and subordinate fiefs of the Syrian feudal system. What came to be recognized as the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem, ignored the fact that the Crusaders were masters of only part of Syria, and, in Palestine, of Judea. From Antioch to Gaza, from the Sea to the Arabian Desert, the land was theoretically divided between Baldwin, Bohemond, Raymond, Tancred, and Godfrey, all subject to the king. The northern lords were titled, Count of Edessa, Prince of Antioch, Count of Tripoli, and the Seigneurs of Beirut and of Sidon.

The Norman rank of the grantee, rather than consideration for political, or geographical requirements, influenced the divisions of the fiefs in western Palestine. To the north were the fiefs of Tyre, Montfort, Toron (Tibnin), and Maron. The royal lands of Tyre started at the Ladder of Tyre; to the east of it was the fief of St. George. Tancred's principality of Galilee was bounded by the Huleh, the Carmel range, and Beisan. Haifa, including Carmel, was a fief; wedged in its side was another small domain, known as Caymont. The important fief of Cæsarea ran from Athlit to the Aujah. Jaffa, which included the better port of Ascalon, was an important countship, which had authority over the seigneur of Gaza; and Darum, the key-fortress on the Egyptian frontier, was a separate fief. Each one of these fiefs had its castle, or its important city was well walled and fortified. The inland fiefs were larger in area. The lord of Nablus governed all Samaria. But the king's personal domain covered less than half of Judea; the coast was under vassalage; and the fief of St. Abraham (Hebron) controlled all of the Negeb.

Trans-Jordan was known as Oultre Jordan, but only one fiefship there had reality, that of the Castle of Kerak. This important and much-fought-over fortress guarded the Dead Sea and the caravan routes. Its lord claimed authority over Moab and Gilead. Actually the Muslim Sultan of Damascus at all times had more power in the larger part of northern Trans-Jordan, then a rich and profitable area, than the Crusaders.

The Latin Kingdom included the whole of the Desert of the Tih. Though its limits were El Arish, it, at times, claimed authority over the whole of the Sinai Peninsula. The seigneur of Kerak was overlord of all this area, and Bernard, the Treasurer, states that Mount Sinai was within his domain. The Greek Bishop of Phaleron, resident of the convent of Saint Catherine, is mentioned as a suffragan of the archbishop of Kerak. The interest in this large stretch of territory had more to do with guarding the trade routes, and the exaction of customs, than in the actual government of the country. The most northerly outpost was the impressive castle of Montreal, or Schaubak. The development later of sugar cane in the north led to an increased interest in the Trans-Jordan lands²² and five subdivisions were created, beginning with Montreal. Next came the Château of the Valley of Moses, which rested on Petra, but included a number of fertile valleys in which figs and olives grew with great luxuriance. Ahamanth and Quad-Gerba seem to have been less important, but the fifth district was Aqaba, which was not only walled but was guarded by a fortress in the sea. The Crusaders appear to have desired to develop the Red Sea trade from Aqaba, but the perils of navigating the Gulf of Aqaba were a great obstacle. Its waters are more often mentioned in strife than in the peaceful pursuit of trade, during the days of the Kingdom. The Latin Kingdom during the ninety years of its existence was, at least, as much of an armed camp as a colony of westerners in the East—just as Europe, from which the immigrants came, was a congeries of well-guarded military strongholds, held by men whose trade was war.

The seigneurs were, however, not absolute lords within their domains. When Arnold, the Latin Patriarch, entered Jerusalem, he, to the great chagrin of Tancred, immediately claimed

the treasures and booty of the Haram Area for the Church of Jerusalem. At the same time, Daimbert, the Papal Legate, declared the ruler of Palestine a vassal of the Pope and thus, through Godfrey's piety, gained a temporal authority for the Church which was not so readily conceded in Europe at that date. The Patriarch was not only spiritual seigneur of the country, but his authority was co-extensive with the king in temporal matters.³⁴ The counter signature of the church authorities appears on most documents; in many, it actually takes precedence of the king's constable.

This pyramid of authority was further complicated when the three great military orders, the Templars, the Hospitallers, and later the Teutonic order, were founded. By a shrewd move the semi-monastic soldiers secured independence for themselves from the Patriarch, and were only subject to the authority of the Pope who was far-off. They were thus able to assure for themselves freedom from what, in that age, was of great importance—they could, and did, defy the ban of the Patriarch. The line at which a quarrel was limited to ecclesiastical matters was very thin; the ban was exercised for temporal ends; and freedom from its terrors no doubt added to the popularity of the knightly orders. Throughout the existence of the kingdom the Orders and the royal policy, dictated by the church, were frequently at cross purposes. The Templars were often charged with treachery. No doubt their bad advice led to the fatal battle of Hattin and to the overthrow of the Kingdom, but, in the main, they had the better judgment and were more willing to compromise with actual conditions in Palestine than were the ecclesiastics. Their motive may have been, as was so often charged against them, gain of wealth and possession of lands.

But what affected the seigneurs most, was the large gift of village revenues and trading rights and other encumbrances, which they had to grant, independent of the rent or service to the king required of the feudal system. The Patriarchate of Jerusalem was divided into four archbishoprics, seven bishoprics, nine abbeys, and two Latin priories. The suffragans of the Armenians, the patriarchs of the three dissident churches,

with thirty-one archbishops and bishops, had to be financially and territorially accommodated. Forty monasteries of diverse sects within the area were governed by the Patriarchate. All these institutions implied the narrowing of the fief area, reduction of income, and divided authority. "The bishops were set too thick for all to grow great, and Palestine fed too many cathedral churches to have them generally fat."⁸⁵ Nevertheless, the land did wax fat, and the Latin clergy of Syria and Palestine became the richest in the world.⁸⁶

The wealth of all classes, irrespective of rank, was poured into the Church, which from Jerusalem extended its authority through rents, domains and revenues throughout Europe, and poured much gold into Palestine. It was no doubt against the local exactions that Jalal Aldin rails, but the seigneurs who were charged with the defense of the kingdom, also regarded them as onerous. The levies were a constant theme of debate between the barons and the clergy. Some of the resources of the Church came from the direct grant of the revenues of the villages. Thus the king granted to the prior of the Holy Sepulchre the lands and revenues of twenty villages situated north of Jerusalem, to Bireh and Ain Sinia, in what became known as the Val de Curs. Such grants, on a small scale, were made by barons to local churches, and the Orders acquired similar rights. These grants may have been responsible for the rapid demobilization which followed Godfrey's victory of Jamnia.

The comprehensive system of taxation, imposts, and tolls, paralyzed trade; therefore Godfrey and his successors had to breach their own plans by granting rights to traders. The Venetians, Genoese and Pisans, excellent soldiers, invincible at sea, practiced in every kind of warfare,⁸⁷ and the Amalfians and the Marseillais, who were also "cunning in the art of trade," built up the commerce with Egypt and Palestine and set distinct limits to their obedience to Church and feudal lord. They were at all times ready to do business with the infidel,⁸⁸ and to their policies may be attributed such freedom and tolerance as existed in the kingdom. The imposts, customs, lighterage, dockage, and transportation charges, prescribed in the Assizes of Jerusalem,⁸⁹ were a serious impediment to commerce.

The ad valorem duty on imports, exclusive of the military accoutrements of knights, which were duty free, averaged about ten per cent. But the right of anchorage had to be paid for; there was a portorage charge, at "the chains," as the custom houses were termed. This charge not only varied, according to the means of conveyance, but there was an additional tax on all commodities intended for infidels. Then there were town imposts and precise laws as to weights and measures and as to the sale of goods by quantity. The most important personage in the financial system of the government was the accountant, who in the codes is designated by the Arabic term, *matahaseb*. He was market inspector, toll and customs collector, and responsible for all commercial transactions. About seventy items, from silk to tree-graftings, from scallions to asparagus, were dutiable.

The discriminations ran not only to the Muslim infidels. All the non-Frank Christians, Syrians, Maronites, Jacobites, Nestorians, Armenians, Georgians, and Iberians, the indigenous Christian population, came under special imposts. But they, with the Samaritans, Jews, and Mouserians, living at Acre, were permitted to trade there.⁴⁰

To counter this policy the European trading companies, who owned all the shipping, and were therefore in a better position to aid in the capture of the port towns, which were all well walled, and therefore able to resist the Crusaders, made firm bargains for trading rights in all their negotiations covering support of military enterprises. The Genoese, in a treaty written in letters of gold, were the first to receive a square in Jerusalem, a street in Jaffa, and a promise of one-third of Cæsarea, Arsuf, and Acre, if these were captured with their aid. This was a model for subsequent arrangements. The Venetians, who entered later on the scene, drove a harder bargain, before they undertook to aid in the siege of Tyre. Dated at Acre, "in the year 1123 of the Second Indiction,"⁴¹ and signed by eight ecclesiastics and by the king's constable, Michael, Doge of Venice, and Prince Royal of Dalmatia and Croatia, drew up a treaty which secured to the Venetians free trade, commercial independence, the use of their own weights and measures, trial

in their own courts, rights in every town captured, the privilege of establishing markets in the conquered cities, and one-third of the booty.

The economic system was further complicated by the grant of monopolies. Dyeing, a considerable industry, was generally granted to the Jews. The list of monopolies included the measuring of grains, wine and oil, tanning, the brewing of beer, meat vending and the slaughter of pigs, fishing, soap-making, glass-blowing, lime-burning, and the manufacture of sesame oil. The Latins, being *noblesse*, did not indulge in servile occupations.

During the existence of the kingdom four mints were established at Tyre, Acre, Tripoli, and Antioch. The Venetians, Genoese, Siennese, Pisans, and Anconians, had banking houses at Acre, Casarea, and Tripoli, while the Pisans established a bank at Jaffa. In the twelfth century Venetian letters of credit were in use in the maritime cities of Palestine.⁴² The chief depositories of records were in Jerusalem and in Acre.

The barons, despite their grumbling, became rich beyond anything that they experienced in Europe. Guy of Giblet gave King John of Brienne fifty thousand Saracen bezants in 1228, and later gave thirty thousand of the same coins to Frederick II., when he landed in Palestine. In 1241 the estimated income of the comparatively small fief of Toron was sixty thousand Saracen bezants.* A similar sum was given Guy de Lusignan by two Tripolitans, when he became king of Cyprus. The greatest single levy was ordered for the defense of the realm in 1182. It demanded two per cent. of all revenues, and two per cent. of the value of all furniture, goods, and merchandise; castles, slaves, and even soldiers were taxed in this emergency; but in normal times, according to Arab authorities, the principal source of revenue was the capitation tax paid by Muslims and Jews.

The feudal mind theoretically persisted in treating a half-captured country with all the meticulous detail that prevailed in western Europe. The code which was developed, first known

* About one thousand pounds, troy, of gold.—Amadi Chron. de Chyre, fol. 145.

as "Letters of the Holy Sepulchre," became after Godfrey's death the more famous "Assizes of Jerusalem." A great many of its records have survived. The basis of the system was the old code of Justinian, sharpened, however, to maintain the prerogatives of the feudal system. Two courts were established for secular justice, with the king as justice of the High Court, which laid down the rules governing mortal combat between knights. The second court, that of the bourgeoisie, was presided over by the viscount in the name of the king. For the native population a third court was instituted in the form of local courts, over which a native bailee, or *reis*, presided, and in which a jury participated. The rural population being largely Muslim, these juries were gradually mixed, and finally composed of four natives and two Franks.

The laws codified, within the authority of the court of the bourgeoisie, number two hundred and ninety-five specific regulations, or ordinances, dealing with every conceivable subject—death, heritage, bastardy, slavery, and the sale of property. Incidentally it made doctors and herbalists responsible for their treatments and simples. Saracens, Jews, Greeks (who are termed Grifons or Gryffons), Samaritans, Jacobites, Nestorians, and Herminites, were permitted to appear in a commercial court (*fondices*). According to Ordinance 221 the Jews were sworn on the Torah (*ce est que li Jude doivent jurer sur le Thore sa loy*). The Saracen could swear on his Koran, while the various Christian sects, in addition to taking the oath on the cross, had to swear by those books of the Evangel which they regarded as sacred. The Samaritans swore on the "Five Books of Moses," *qui il tient*.

So was the kingdom organized by Godfrey and developed by his successors. The best justification for the introduction and acceptance of this wholly exotic system was that in its best days the baronies and cities could be called upon to furnish no more than three thousand seven hundred and twenty-nine knights, a restless, militant crowd at best—settled amid a hostile native population, and surrounded by swarms of pilgrims, many of them criminals of the worst type, "ready enough, when the old score was wiped out by so many prayers at sacred places, to begin a new one." "

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CHAPTER X

PROGRESS OF LATIN KINGDOM—1101 TO 1145

ON Godfrey's death Garnier de Grey seized part of Jerusalem, but the elected king, Baldwin of Edessa, brother of Godfrey, marched on the city with four hundred knights and a thousand men, ousted his rival, and was crowned king with regal splendor. Baldwin was essentially a warrior, and the whole of his reign, which lasted eighteen years, was given over to extending the kingdom in every direction. Immediately on his accession he attempted to take Ascalon by surprise, but the attack on that well-guarded fortress failed. Without much delay Baldwin headed his forces eastward, marched through Hebron to the Dead Sea, and crossing Trans-Jordan, reached Mount Hermon without encountering any serious opposition. A successful attack on an Arab encampment, which yielded much booty, ended this eastern advance for the time being.

The capture of the coast was still the great problem, and Baldwin, aided by a Genoese fleet, laid siege to Arsuf. The fortress capitulated. Baldwin next gave his attention to Cæsarea. After eighteen days of hard fighting the port fell, and all the Muslims in the city were massacred. A year later the Egyptians, to the number of twenty thousand, invaded the Plain of Sharon. Baldwin, accompanied by only two hundred knights, gave battle. He was badly defeated, and only escaped through the aid of an Arab chief who owed him a debt of gratitude. This warlike monarch, ever ready to take the offensive with a handful of followers, had a number of narrow escapes.

These various incursions betray the military weakness of the Kingdom. The Russian Abbot, Daniel, who made a pilgrimage to Palestine about 1106, presents a picture of molestations by the Saracens at Tyre and Ascalon, which makes clear that the authority of the mail-clad knights was continually contested

outside of their fortified castles. Other contemporary records tell of brigands waylaying travellers from Jerusalem to Jericho, and of Saracen raids at Beisan. The feudal system was pedantically regulatory in its codes, trials, and legal decisions, but it exercised the police power, both in the East and in the West, very poorly.

Again, aided by the Genoese fleet, Baldwin laid siege to Acre, and after a struggle of twenty days that famous port-fortress capitulated. The battle for the ports continued relentlessly. Four thousand Muslims were slain in another attack on Ascalon, but it remained in Egyptian hands. During 1104 the war moved northward, and then the attacks on the ports were renewed. With the aid of the Genoese, who stipulated for their third of the booty, the trading rights, Beirut was finally captured in 1110. The war attracted other maritime nations, and in the same year a fleet of Danish and Norwegian adventurers arrived on the coast, and aided in taking Sidon.

Tyre was next assailed. The attack, which lasted four months, had to be abandoned, because a Turkish army, marching through Hollow Syria, invaded Palestine and camped at the southern end of Lake Gennesaret. This invasion seems to have been well timed, for while Baldwin left Tyre and hurried to Tiberias, the Egyptians made a mass sortie from Ascalon, and reached the walls of Jerusalem. Baldwin was badly defeated at Tiberias, and almost fell in an ambushade. But while the victorious Turks began to organize for the southward march, the Egyptians withdrew from the proposed attack on Jerusalem.

The arrival of reinforcements for the Franks, in the shape of large troops of pilgrims, caused both Turks and Egyptians to return to their bases, after the usual ravishing of the countryside and the killing of wayfarers. Two years later another simultaneous offensive was attempted by the Muslims. This time Tughtegin, Sultan of Damascus and the Emir of Ascalon, took the aggressive at the same time. In these skirmishes Jaffa was twice attacked, but resisted capture.

From 1115 on, Baldwin was hard put to it to strengthen his position, and he had to meet forays on every front. He built

the castles on the Dead Sea frontier to protect the south, and in 1116 captured Petra. But the depopulation of Jerusalem gave him much concern. The Muslims had killed, or expelled, the original Christian population. The Crusaders, on the capture of the city, killed all Muslims and Jews, and then decided that none but Christians should be permitted to live in Jerusalem. The capital was, therefore, limited to priests, nuns, lords and knights and their attendants. Baldwin remedied the situation by offering the Syrian Christians of Gilead the right of settlement. The newcomers were granted privileges and immunities. They accepted the invitation, and improved local conditions. But it was not until Baldwin II., in 1121, promulgated a free trade measure for Jerusalem, ending all the tolls and customs on goods entering the city, that its trade began to revive.

Baldwin I. made one more attempt to clear the coast of the enemy. He built a castle at Iskanderuni to hold Tyre in check, and even organized an army in 1117 for the invasion of Egypt. He believed that by this aggression, which required a march through Sinai to Pelusium, he might succeed in destroying the main strength of the Egyptians. The policy of attempting to establish the security of Palestine by subduing the Muslims in Egypt was accepted as wise by several of the succeeding kings, and the two routes over the desert were carefully surveyed and marked in the itineraries, and are preserved in the chronicles of the Crusades. En route, Baldwin caught fever, and being carried to El Arish, then a commercial town, died there, in 1118.

Baldwin du Bourg, being in Jerusalem at the time of the king's death, and the knights judging conditions too serious to await the arrival of Eustace, the rightful heir, Baldwin was elected king, and ruled as Baldwin II. His wife was an Armenian, and his two daughters, Alice and Millicent, played a large part in the intrigues of the next reign.

In the meantime the Turks had begun to harass the northern principalities. El Ghazi, son of Ortok, and Balak, a powerful Seljuk prince, invaded Antioch and killed Roger, Prince of Antioch, in battle. Then Jocelyn, Count of Edessa, was captured

by Balak. Baldwin II. hastened north to ransom his vassal, and was himself captured and confined in a fortress for eighteen months.

During the King's detention, Count Eustace Garnier, hereditary lord of Sidon and of Cæsarea, was made regent. He attacked the Egyptians, who had again seized Jaffa, killing seven thousand of the twenty-three thousand Egyptian warriors. Garnier died, and was replaced by William du Buris, lord of Tiberias, who made an alliance with Dominic Michael, Doge of Venice, who arrived with his fleet on the Palestine coast at an opportune moment.

In a great naval battle, aided by the Venetians, the Egyptian fleet was destroyed. The Constable next decided upon an attack on Tyre. The siege lasted five months, from February to June, 1124, after which the city capitulated. Two months later the king was released on ransom, leaving hostages for the payment of the huge sum. He appealed to the citizens of Aleppo to pay the ransom, but they refused, and Baldwin thereupon repaired to Jerusalem and inaugurated a series of brilliant skirmishes which restored his military reputation. The Seljuk leader, Balak, was killed, and for fourteen years there was peace.

These military successes of the Latins were, however, of little avail. The appeal of the Arab poet, Mozaffer el Abiwardi,

"How can you close your eyes, Children of Islam, in the midst of troubles which would rouse the deepest sleeper,"

constantly recruited new warriors for the Muslims. Turks from Damascus, Kurds from the Armenian mountains, Bedouins from the Desert, and Turcomans from Tartary, refilled the ranks. The enemy was constantly on the move.

Baldwin II. was succeeded by his son-in-law, Fulk, Count of Anjou, for whom he had sent during his lifetime, because, in the failure of male issue, the crown would descend to his eldest daughter, Millicent, it was regarded as necessary to provide her with a husband who could maintain her rights. Fulk was advanced in years when he assumed the throne, and he was lacking in the military vigor which the situation demanded. In his

reign the Sultan of Damascus recovered Banias, and in 1137 he was faced by an alliance of John Comnenus, Emperor of Byzantium, and Zanghi, Lord of Mosul. Nablus was ravished, but what was more important, the allies attacked Aleppo and captured Antioch, whereupon the Byzantine emperor started a struggle with his Muslim associate. To ward off the constant sorties from Ascalon, Fulk built three forts at Jamnia, Tell as-Safi, and Beit Jibrin. But it was during the reign of this comparatively weak and victory-lacking king that Jerusalem reached the zenith of its prosperity, as the capital of the Frank Kingdom.

"An open market under David's Tower . . . peasant traders . . . [tolls remitted] to all pilgrims who bought provisions or merchandise . . . money changers sitting . . . before the piles of besants and marks. . . . The swarthy peasant, white shirted, red slippered, with brown striped cloak and yellow turban; the page gorgeous in brilliant silks and velvet; red cross knight in mail; the bowman and the man-at-arms; the pale Muslim in his purple robe with green turban of the sherif; the dusky Arab from over Jordan, in flying head dress; the blue-robed peasant woman with her basket; the shrinking Jewish dyers, stained with indigo; the black-eyed Greek; the sturdy mountaineer in felt and camlet, with broad sash and baggy breeches—a pilgrim from Armenia or the Caucasus—even the Russian with his greasy gaberdine, long locks and beard; the Italian trader, and the Frankish freeman. . . . The Norman seigneur, in furs and scarlet, astride his Arab courser, the Patriarchs of the Latin and Eastern rites . . . the palmer with his grey gown and cockle shell, his staff and scrip. . . ."

The city was a riot of color:

"Bright cloths and wooden pent houses shaded the ill-paved lanes . . . purple and amber and crimson of the merchants' dresses mingled with the green and russet of the fruits piled in the open shops, and the smell of musk and sandal wood, and rosewater, filled all the street where the perfumers dwelt . . . peasants' asses . . . pushed through the crowds, the camel swung along the roads with grain . . . butchers and herbalists . . . and the odor of food cooked for the pilgrims."¹

Though mentally his gaze was directed into the past and the future, this actual scene must have been beheld by Zion's greatest lover, Jehudah Halevi, the Spanish-born Hebrew poet,

whose yearnings for Jerusalem have permanently enriched literature.

The house of kings and throne of God wert thou,
How comes it then that now
Slaves fill the throne where sat thy kings before? ^a

The story of his pilgrimage to Zion in 1140 is vague. A legend relates that Halevi found his death, crushed by a Crusader's horse, beside the walls that moved his soul to elegiac utterance.

Twenty-five years later there came to Palestine to spend a month at Acre, and to make pilgrimages to Jerusalem and Hebron, the great Jewish exegete and philosopher, Moses Maimonides, whose remains were later buried at Tiberias. At the period of his visit, Maimonides was physician to the Egyptian Sultan and at the height of his renown as a doctor of medicine. Abd Allatif states that Maimonides' residence in Cairo was one of the three reasons that prompted him to visit the capital. ^a

II

Fulk was the last of the full-blooded Franks to reign over the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem. His eldest son, Baldwin III., tall, brave, and possessed of great respect for the ecclesiastics at his court, was the son of the Armenian Millicent who, when her son was crowned, sat on the throne with him, and joined him in rule. Millicent had not been above reproach in her amours; her son, only thirteen, had his affairs with women and was fond of hunting and of gambling with dice. The double rule created partisanship; the vassals got out of hand; and Jocelyn of Edessa and Raymond of Antioch were at dagger's drawn when not busy with sport and indulging in loose living.

Suddenly, in 1144, Zanghi of Mosul was before the walls of Edessa with a formidable army. Raymond could not aid, and Millicent's orders to the army of Palestine were not obeyed. Zanghi offered terms to Jocelyn, but the Archbishop Hugh, who was subsequently crushed under the weight of the gold he was trying to carry into the citadel, opposed surrender.

On the twenty-second day of the siege the great towers fell and the enemy entered. Islam triumphed. A year later, to the joy of all Christendom, Zanghi was assassinated, and Antioch recaptured.

By way of reprisal Baldwin, though only a boy, mustered an army, and crossing the Jordan attempted to capture Bozrah, but he was ignominiously defeated by all the circumstances that attended a hastily arranged enterprise, and it was in thankfulness that he and the remnant of his troops returned through Damascus to Jerusalem.

Jocelyn, on the recapture of Edessa, had slaughtered all the Muslims found there, and in response Zanghi's son, the Sultan of Aleppo and Damascus, Nur ed Din, "light of the faith," came to Edessa with ten thousand men, vowing to exterminate the Christians. The latter were too few in number to resist, and sallied forth with Jocelyn to make their escape. He was captured at Samosata, and spent nine years, till his death, in a prison at Aleppo. The rest of the Christian refugees were massacred. Thus was Edessa forever taken from the Franks.

The alarm was felt throughout Europe; the Latin Kingdom was in danger; and the time had come for the preaching of another Crusade.

Less than half a century after the capture of Jerusalem the Kingdom had passed its zenith. Despite all the wars, Palestine enjoyed during that period greater peace and prosperity than any of the lands of Europe. To many a soldier, and pilgrim, who for the first time beheld the wealth, luxury, and civilization of the East, the land, apart from religious motives, strongly appealed. We note in the records only one year, 1114, economically bad. It was a year of drought, famine, earthquake and locusts.

The Crusaders, with a few exceptions, had spent all their means before they took Jerusalem, but the resources of the country, the income from the pilgrimages, and the lavish donations of the faithful all over the western world, sustained the kingdom. The whole area was fruitful, and in the plains the invading army drove the roaming cattle before them. The wealth of Syria and of Palestine intoxicated the hardy north-

erners. The fruit gardens of Tripoli alone were worth an annual revenue which, in modern terms, amounted to about two and a half million dollars a year. The anxiety of the trading nations—the Pisans, the Amalfi, the Genoese, the Venetians, and the Marseillais—to secure good agreements, the privileges accorded them, and the value of the free trade ordinances in restoring the prosperity of Jerusalem, all indicate the commercial importance of Palestine. The lavish use of silk by the orientals impressed the Normans, unused to this fine textile. At the fall of every city, after the usual massacre, the army spent days robing itself in brilliantly dyed silken robes. Like children enjoying new experiences, the officers and soldiers squandered the immense booty they found.

The Latins wrecked many cities, but built none of importance; they devoted themselves to the erection of castles and fortresses. Accepting the Mosque el Aksa as the Temple of Solomon, the kings at first occupied it as their palace, but later a royal palace was erected; the Dome of the Rock was turned over to the Templars as their Hospice. In this wise, by Fulk's time Jerusalem was filled with stately Norman buildings. The castles, from Kerak to Tyre, were the Normans' great contribution to the architecture of the country. Strong walls replaced the lack of numbers. To hold the country by main force, with neither the desert nor the coast in secure possession, and the north almost always open through the Muslim control of Damascus, was the ever present military problem. Unquestionably the First Crusade was a great military achievement, because the invaders came from a great distance, but in terms of occupying the land, it compared neither with the Roman nor the Arab conquests of Palestine.

Behind the stately exterior of the feudal system, there was much ignorance, no little cruelty, and much internal dissension. The host had been led forward on its long and devastating march by reports of miracles; the influence of the church was sustained by further miraculous stories; but the humans who composed the Frank kingdom, excepting Godfrey, were only interested in baronial power, knightly prowess, and regal pomp. To them Palestine was a frontier, and they followed

the frontier life with all the display of a period in which the clatter of steel and the waving of plumes counted for much. Servile work was beneath the dignity of the nobles. Nor were they good colonizers, the bringing of the Gilead Christians to Jerusalem being their best and most notable settlement.

III

The land was in the main tilled by the indigenous population of whose origins little positive can be said.⁴ The villages were peopled by a mixture of all the races of the orient, intermarried with Greeks. The Latins, on the founding of the kingdom, had to recognize five types of Muslims (and these were unquestionably of varying descent), as well as the Jews, the Druzes, the Samaritans, and the eight heterodox Christian sects who were divided as much on racial as on religious lines. Widespread miscegenation was, however, already complained of in the fourth year of the kingdom, and by 1120, when the Council of Nablus was held, the Latins were already reported to be half-oriental in blood.⁵

The failure to obtain a better grip on the country through domestic ties is the more remarkable, in that not only did the nobles marry freely with native Christian races, but the soldiers, and many of the pilgrims, settled and married—their offspring being a race of semi-Asiatics called Pullani, who “united the vices of both sides of their descent, and inherited none of the virtues.”⁶ Foucher of Chartres notes, in 1124, that the Latins marrying with Armenians and Arabs “were far richer and happier in Palestine than they had ever been in Europe.”⁷ For the major part, though their letters to Europe were full with tales of wealth and luxury, the knights and the soldiers considered themselves as exiles in pleasant and exciting surroundings, but far from home. They watched with streaming eyes the departure of friends for Europe.

The manners, morals, and sentiments of the frontier were kept alive by the conglomerate character of the Crusaders. Nineteen languages were in vogue among them when they arrived in Palestine; the medley was increased by native dialects and by the tongues spoken by the merchants who came to

every city from France, Germany, Brittany, and England. There were twenty-four occupations and professions besides farming, which the *noblesse* disdained. Jews and Samaritans followed some of the trades, but for the larger part these opportunities were filled by the native Christians and by the immigrant traders. Thus was created in Palestine a bourgeois class far more distinct than any that existed in Europe at the same period. This bourgeoisie settled more easily than the nobility, though it was later swept away in the general debacle of the Kingdom. It freely accepted the manners of the country; its women appeared veiled, went in procession to the public baths in oriental style, and broadly imitated the harem system. To the scandal of the Church the richer traders built private chapels for the half caste and native women, who were prohibited attendance at public churches.

The practice and theory of the Crusade were ever at variance. The nobles after their first great victory were not fanatically opposed to the Muslims. Frank and Saracen noble met on terms of common interest; they copied one another's sports, rivalled one another in falconry contests, and Saracens even desired to take part in the Christian jousting tournaments. In war, alliances were made so that Christians and Muslims fought other Christians and Muslims. The Crusaders employed not only the Pullani but bands of mercenary Muslims known as Turcoples. The effect of the blending of interest is seen even in the coinage of the barons.

The prelates and soldiers who, together with the pilgrims, made the power of the Crusades, came from an unchaste world. The Palestine adventure, in the meticulous amplitude of its records,* throws a high light on lives which would not have been so suffused, had they remained in Europe. The Orient merely intensified appetites, and created new opportunities for lust. The Crusaders had no liking for the inhibitions and prohibitions constantly issued. After the first battle, women and

* Rohricht alone compiled 1500 documents of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, relating to Jerusalem. The Société de l'Orient Latin has catalogued probably as many. In addition there are many English documents. Of the year 1274 there exist ninety commercial contracts recorded by the Genoese notary, Frederic Piazzalunga.

gambling had to be repressed in order to maintain discipline in the army. The same measures were frequently but unsuccessfully repeated. It could not well have been otherwise, in view of the example set by the highest in the land.

Even the Patriarch, Arnold, was not above reproach. He was for a time deprived of his office because of his amours with a Flemish lady and a *Muslima*—the worst offense he could commit against his own code. Millicent, the wife of King Fulk, was accused of impropriety with Count Hugh of Jaffa. Being exiled from his own estate that noble came to Jerusalem and, being stabbed while playing dice in the streets, was left for dead on the cobblestones. In any European city such incidents were common enough, but died on the gossips' tongues. In Palestine the story went into the chronicles of the diarists. Piety everywhere was prayer, genuflection, and gross superstition.

The Council called in Nablus in 1120 attempted to correct the morals of the community. Baldwin II., the Patriarch Garamond, the Bishops of Cæsarea, Nazareth, Lydda, St. Mary of Jehosophat, the Abbots of Mount Tabor, Mount Zion, the Chancellor of the Kingdom, Eustace Garnier, the Constable of Jaffa, the heads of the two Orders, and many others participated in this conclave. The scanty tithes paid the Church, plagues of locusts, gnawing rats, and other evils, inspired the king and the prelates with the belief that sin and corruption were provoking God's anger, and aiding the enemy. Most of the twenty-five articles adopted by this Council deal with illicit sexual relations, depravity, and degeneration. The severity of the punishments adopted indicates that the priests were not free from these sins. It was difficult to prevent Franks indulging with *Muslimat*, and it was equally difficult to prevent high Norman ladies having amours with Saracens. The latter crime, regarded as the most heinous of all, was visited with unbelievably cruel punishment.*

The trade in slaves, who were numerous, no doubt contributed to the sexual depravity which figures so largely in the annals of the Latin Kingdom. Edrisi * reports that good-looking, black Nubian females were most desired, and valued at three hundred dinars. The supply was kept up both by importation

and by the sale of prisoners of war. The Venetians and the Genoese did a thriving trade, and brought slaves from all parts of Africa and the East. Certain limitations were put on the sale and maiming of Christian slaves, but what is equally noticeable is that the custom of purchasing emasculated slaves and the employment of eunuchs spread even to the royal household.¹⁰

Among the millions who followed the Cross, Godfrey of Bouillon stands out, because in a critical examination of his private and public life made prior to his election as king, the only reproach registered against him was that he lingered overmuch in the churches.

One other fact makes itself felt at the end of the First Crusade. If the Latins were orientalizing, the Muslims, by their capture of thousands of western Christian women who were sent to their harems, were receiving a great admixture of western blood. There is nowhere on their side any indication, however, that their miscegenation in any way influenced either their morals or their faith. The exchanges that were in actual process were of a different kind. The West was gaining in a knowledge of literature and of the fine arts. The potteries of Jaffa and elsewhere in Palestine were improving their products to the eventual advantage of the French, who borrowed their skill in ceramics from the Palestineans. The blown-glass of Palestine was cherished in Europe, as were its silks and other textiles. Europe took from, but added little to Palestine by the date that the Second Crusade became a necessity to the followers of the Cross.

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² Alice Lucas' *The Jewish Year*, London, 1898, p. 132.

³ Abd Allatif (de Sacy's translation), p. 465.

⁴ Besant, p. 222.

⁵ Conder, p. 92.

⁶ Besant, p. 222.

⁷ Conder, p. 94.

⁸ Rey.

⁹ *Ibid.*, Tome I, p. 25.

¹⁰ William of Tyre, book xii, c. 13.

CHAPTER XI

END OF THE LATIN KINGDOM—1145 TO 1187

EDESSA's fall distressed the faithful, not too many in number, in Europe. St. Bernard of Clairvaux, who bitterly and consistently fought the Jewish-born Pope Anacletus II., and a monk named Rudolph, whose proposal to inaugurate the campaign for enlistment by a wholesale massacre of the Jews, was over-ruled, preached the Second Crusade in 1144. Pope Eugene III., in 1145, proclaimed the Crusade. The great monk cursed all those who would not respond, but the hardships and sufferings of the First Crusade had left bitter memories in every village of France, Germany, and Italy. Faith was sinking and monarchs were at grips with each other. The fate of the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem seemed sealed, until Conrad, King of the Romans, leaving his son, Henry, in charge of his German dominions, took the Cross. Then Louis VII. of France, on whose conscience there weighed heavily the burning of thirteen hundred men, women, and children, in the church of Vitry, which he had fired with his own hand, accepted the Crusade as a penance.

Neither of these kings was an able soldier. The common cause did not obliterate the differences between Frenchmen and Germans. A great army was collected, and the kings and the barons took their wives and sweethearts with them, infinitely increasing the perils and difficulties that were to be overcome. The Germans left their homeland first, and by the winter of 1147, although coldly received by John, Emperor of Constantinople, crossed the Hellespont, and with difficulty reached Syria.

At Dorylaem their guides deserted them, and the Turks fell upon the army of seventy thousand mounted men, with a vast

concourse of foot soldiers, with women and children. King Conrad and about seven thousand horsemen escaped the carnage. The rest were slaughtered, dispersed or taken prisoner. Conrad hastened to Nicæa where he prudently awaited the arrival of the French. King Louis, the dolorous, came with his great queen, Eleanor, and her attendants, and a large army. The joint forces won their way to Satalia, in Cilicia. There the plague broke out, and the Crusaders received more kindly aid from the inimical Muslims than from the Greeks, their fellows in faith.

Louis, his queen, and her ladies went by sea to Antioch, which was reached by a quarter of the French army. Of all the women who joined with the French and the Germans in the procession across Europe, only Eleanor and her attendants reached Palestine.¹ She was in no hurry to get there. She liked Antioch. Better still, she liked the gay, unscrupulous adventurer, Raymond of Antioch, and announced her intention of divorcing her regal husband in favor of the more ardent Syrian prince. According to some accounts she eloped with him, and the French army went in pursuit of the couple; according to others, Louis checked the worst scandal by taking his queen to Tripoli.

It was, therefore, not till June, 1148, that a great council of the kings and chiefs was held in Acre, Millicent and her son being present. The Latin princes of northern Syria, however, abstained from attendance. The council decided upon an attack on Damascus, as the best method of retrieving what had become the eastern frontier of the western world.

The combined armies went forth hurriedly. The king of Jerusalem marched first, then King Louis, and lastly the Germans, under Conrad. Many reasons are assigned for the disaster that befell the Second Crusade—the rivalry of the princes, and even the disloyalty of the Templars who were said to have been bribed to yield their most favorable position for attack. This much is certain, Eyub, the Kurdish Emir of Tekrit, father of the boy who was to become world-famous as Salah-ad-Din, “honor of the faith,” routed the Europeans, and the despairing kings, barons, and knights hastened back to Europe. On his

way home, King Louis was nearly captured, but the fate of the defeated on foreign shores does not concern this record.

Nur ed Din, almost immediately thereafter, started an attack on Antioch, and took many of the castles in the surrounding territory. Parthians and Persians came from Khorassan and joined the Sultan's army, which destroyed the crops. Raymond was killed, Jocelyn made a prisoner, and the Greeks were waiting to seize the prize. Baldwin, though poor in forces, went to the rescue of Antioch and held it successfully. The young king had much trouble at home. He attempted to discharge his mother from her office as regent, and in her interest Manassah de Berges, constable of Palestine, seized the castle of Mirabel, near Antipatris, and only yielded it after a siege by the king. The king and the dowager queen then agreed to divide the kingdom. In the partition, Baldwin accepted Tyre and Acre, while he yielded Jerusalem and Nablus to his mother. Repenting the decision, he besieged Nablus, led an army to Jerusalem, and besieged his mother in the Tower of David. Millicent eventually retired to Nablus, where she remained till her death in 1161.

Baldwin returned to the defense of Antioch, and defeated an army of Turks who, in the meantime, encamped against Jerusalem. This victory, which is credited to the population of Jerusalem, rather than to the military forces, so encouraged Baldwin that he resolved on the capture of Ascalon, which, fifty-four years after the taking of Jerusalem, was still in the hands of the Muslims.

All the pilgrim fleets aided in the attack of this strong fortress port, the defenders of which were constantly reinforced by Egyptians. After a seven months' siege the walls were breached, and so, in 1153, the Templars leading, and resolved on great booty, "the bride of Syria" yielded, but not until Baldwin had agreed to the retirement of the garrison and its wives and children and the Jewish residents, under safe conduct to Egypt. The Marseillais who aided in this campaign received, as part of their contract, streets and churches in Acre and Jerusalem, a part of Ramleh; and they forced Baldwin to sign the treaty granting them free trade in Jerusalem.

To further complicate matters, the Templars quarrelled with the prelates of Jerusalem. The churches of the city were temporarily under the ban, whereupon the Templars, who, on their formation had shrewdly obtained a charter, by which they were unaffected by these local ecclesiastical acts, took the side of the subordinates in the church, and those under the ban were welcomed by them. Excommunications and interdicts were freely exchanged in Palestine, but the Templars treated the Patriarch so roughly that, although nearly a hundred years old, he went to Rome for redress—but obtained it not. But more serious matters were soon on foot. Renaud of Châtillon, who, by marriage, had become the most powerful of the barons, unprovokedly invaded Cyprus, murdering, pillaging, and committing every kind of outrage. Baldwin, loaded with debt, broke a truce he had made with Turkish and Arab herdsmen who fed their cattle on the slopes of Lebanon, slaughtered as many of these peaceful people as he could find, and seized all their property. The captured cattle and horses enabled the king to pay his debts.

Feeling secure in the south, Baldwin went to the rescue of Banias, where Count Humphrey and the knights of St. John were attacked by Nur ed Din, who had made himself master of Damascus. Nur ed Din raised the siege, but in withdrawing from Banias, Baldwin, who had encamped near Lake Huleh, was almost captured. He escaped, with half a dozen men and found safety in the castle at Safed. The Muslims pursued, but while the king escaped, the majority of his followers and the townsmen submitted to the Muslims and "gave themselves without resistance to the enemy like vile slaves." "

The arrival at this juncture of a fleet of pilgrims under Stephen, Count of Perche, probably saved the kingdom. For Baldwin organized these forces, and, aided by a Flemish force, strengthened Antioch, and recaptured Cæsarea on the Orontes. But Baldwin's triumphs were short-lived. In 1159 he married Theodora, niece of the emperor of Constantinople, who brought him a considerable dowry, and toward whom he was devoted. He lived peacefully for a few years by coming to terms with Renaud, who controlled far more land than did the suzerain,

and by building many fortresses, in Trans-Jordan, and in Galilee. In 1162 he caught fever, in northern Syria, and died in Beirut, little over thirty years old. He was the first native king, "in those degenerate days he was almost the only man in the kingdom whose word could be trusted." It is related of Nur ed Din that when, on the king's demise, he was advised to invade the kingdom, he replied: "Let us have compassion and indulgence for a grief so just, since the Christians have lost a prince so great that the world possesses not his equal." ⁸

II

Amaury, Count of Jaffa, and of Ascalon, brother of Baldwin, succeeded to the throne in 1162. He was the first of his line that had some pretensions to education, was somewhat sceptical, opposed the "liberties of the Church," accumulated wealth, but spent it for the kingdom, boasted his incontinence, stuttered, and was taciturn by temperament. He was twenty-seven, of middle height, with an aquiline nose, like all his family, had a head of brown hair, and was corpulent, despite his personal temperance, in food and drink.

On his coronation he divorced his first wife, Agnes, by whom he had three children, alleging that she came within the prohibited degree of consanguinity, their two grandfathers had been cousins. Amaury began his reign with an attack on the Fatimid caliph, and took Pelusium. This adventure had most curious results. The Fatimid caliphate was crumbling, and Dhargam, the Vizir, was faced with a rival, Shower, whom he expelled from the kingdom. Shower, thereupon, went to Damascus and urged Nur ed Din to seize Egypt and oust Dhargam. The idea appealed to Nur ed Din, and he sent an army headed by his ablest general, Shirkoh, to support Shower. Dhargam offered Amaury an alliance against Nur ed Din, but while the king hesitated, the Damascenes had entered Egypt. After a preliminary skirmish, in which the Syrians were defeated, the tide of battle turned, Dhargam was killed, and Shower and Shirkoh entered Cairo. Shower held the capital, but Shirkoh, in Pelusium, would not budge, nor acknowledge the Fatimid caliph. Shower thereupon offered Amaury an

alliance. The king brought his army to Egypt, and Shirkoh was forced to retire. Amaury, now the avowed ally of 'Adhid li din Ullah, returned to Jerusalem, a victor.

Nur ed Din had, however, not been idle. Although defeated, near Tripoli he vanquished Bohemond of Antioch, Raymond of Tripoli, the Greek governor of Cilicia, and the Armenian prince of Toros. The battle was a disgraceful rout. The Armenian prince escaped, the rest were captured by pursuing forces, and the soldiers threw down their arms; but for the arrival of Thierry, Count of Flanders, with some knights, the northern provinces would have been lost to Christian rule. Even the gallant Thierry, almost the last of the great fighting knights, could not prevent Nur ed Din capturing Banias, while the Druzes were fighting the Sidonians.*

Shirkoh obtained possession of part of Tyre, still "a beautiful city" and a good trading center; Montreal, in Moab, fell, and the Christians accused one another of treachery. Governors and Templars were executed for alleged disloyalty.

For a spell, Nur ed Din paused in harassing the kingdom, while he prepared for his greatest blow. To the Abbaside Caliph, in Baghdad, whose vassal he was, he proposed to extinguish the Fatimid rule over Egypt, and unite all the Muslims under one banner. The Caliph assented, and in 1165, all the Turkish leaders of the east were invited to join under the leadership of Shirkoh.

Amaury, loyal to his alliance with Egypt, gathered his army, and attempted to intercept the Syrians. He missed them, but proceeded to Egypt, where he was welcomed in great state, by the Vizir. Shawer induced Amaury to remain with his troops, in Cairo, by a payment, half in cash, of four hundred thousand pieces of gold (about three and a half million dollars).

This incident led to the first meeting of a Christian knight and a caliph. Amaury insisted that the agreement should be ratified by the handclasp of the Fatimid caliph, a mysterious being, of whom he had heard, but had never seen. Accordingly he sent Hugh, a native of "elegant and beautiful" Cæsarea, and Foucher, a Templar, to Cairo. They were permitted to enter the ornate palace of the monarch, and after

much ceremony, met the Caliph El 'Adhid li din Ullah, a young, handsome, but powerless man.

"They were shown into an apartment, one end of which was hidden by curtains embroidered with gold and precious stones. Before the curtain, Shawer prostrated himself twice, and then took the sword, which hung from his neck, and humbly laid it on the ground. At that moment the curtains drew apart, and disclosed the Caliph, himself, seated on a golden throne, in robes more splendid than those of kings, and surrounded by a small number of his domestics, and favorite eunuchs." ⁵ The handshake was not easily given, being against the Shiah faith. The Caliph at first interposed a handkerchief, but at last acceded to Hugh's demands, and the treaty was thus concluded.

This incident, so romantic in its performance, was in its results critical. To the Templars ⁶ the treaty was binding. To Amaury, who had demanded it, it was apparently no more than a gesture. The Christians were accorded the freedom of Cairo, while Shirkoh, held off and invited a battle in the desert. Twelve thousand Turks and ten thousand Arabs were opposed to the Egyptian army and Amaury, with his three hundred and sixty knights, and a large body of Turcoples.

Eventually Shirkoh forced a battle, at Babain, on the border of the desert, near Cairo; the Egyptian forces were defeated, and a hundred knights slain. Amaury had to fight a passage to Cairo, and did not reach his camp for four days. The Turks had however also lost heavily and therefore, instead of continuing the attack, marched off to Alexandria, which fell without a blow. Shirkoh however could not retain his hold on that metropolis when Amaury cut off supplies along the river. Shirkoh thereupon turned over Alexandria to his nephew, the future Saladin, and returned to Cairo, while Amaury prepared to invest Alexandria. Much of the glory of Alexandria was destroyed in this struggle. Saladin was almost starved out, but the shrewd Shirkoh made terms with Amaury, through Hugh of Cæsarea, and the siege of Alexandria was raised, and Amaury and Saladin indulged in an amicable meeting.

Loaded with honors, Amaury hastened to Tyre, where he

married Maria, the niece of the Greek emperor, Manuel Comenus, who proposed an alliance to Amaury by which they should capture Egypt, and enable Amaury to sit on the much-lauded, and greatly envied golden throne of the Egyptian caliph. Amaury was tempted, and despite the protest of Bertrand de Blanqueford, Grand Master of the Templars, who regarded the king's word as plighted to the Egyptians, he proceeded to discover a pretext, on which he could declare war on Egypt.

Except for the support of a small force, brought from Europe by the Count of Nevers, the west was in no mood or condition, to aid the Frank Kingdom. England and France were at war, the Pope had fled to France, and the Italian cities were at war with each other. Apart from the obvious breach of faith the Templars wisely opposed a war, difficult to wage, in the marshes of the Nile Delta. They were more anxious to relieve the pressure on the northern front, and admitted fear of the Turkish forces in Syria. Circumstances, moreover, favored peace. Nur ed Din was busy in the province of Aleppo, and young Saladin preferred the luxury of Damascus, to a struggle in Egypt, to which he was invited by his uncle Shirkoh, "the lion of the faith."

But Amaury had been tempted. On October 11, 1168, he signed a treaty with the Master of the Hospital of St. John to aid in his war on Egypt. The spirit and terms of this treaty exhibit the knights as blood-brothers of the robber-barons, plundering Europe. The Hospital was to receive lands cultivated and untilled, around Bilbeis, to the annual rental value of one hundred thousand dollars from ten Egyptian cities. In every city they were to be accorded the right to build a hospice, and half the booty was to go to them. In return they were to furnish a thousand knights, and a thousand of the Turkish cavalry, known as Turcopoles. Moreover, in the absence of the king, all booty was to be theirs. Amaury also drew into this alliance some Greeks, Armenians and Egyptians.

The adventure began well. Amaury and his army crossed the Sinai desert, seized Pelusium, and slew all its inhabitants. The forward march was stayed by Shawer, who while appealing

to Nur ed Din for aid, tempted Amaury to make peace for cash. For nine days the cunning vizir bargained, while he obtained the release of the members of his own family, offering Amaury up to two million pieces of gold if he would quit the kingdom. Amaury, who had dreams of greatness built on this vast store of gold, was again tempted. He accepted the promise of this bribe, and moved his army slowly toward Cairo, where the gold was being assembled.

Well posted on these negotiations, Nur ed Din decided, instead of invading Palestine, which was unprotected, to attack Egypt. By rapid marches, his army, under Shirkoh and Saladin, approached the Egyptian frontier. Amaury, discovering that he had been outwitted by Shower, hastily withdrew and returned to Jerusalem. But the Damascenes had not marched in vain. They ignored Amaury's retreat, and proceeded to Cairo, where Shirkoh made a temporary peace with Shower. But no sooner was Shirkoh master of the situation than he beheaded the cunning vizir. So, thanks to Amaury's wild scheme, on January 18, 1169, Shirkoh became vizir, and having rid himself of the Fatimid Caliph, became Sultan of Egypt. He was, however, speedily succeeded in that office by the greatest of the Muslims, Saladin, who thus came to an important political and prominent military office.

Hemmed in between Tiberias and Ascalon, Amaury's kingdom was in desperate plight. A union of the forces north and south would have put an end to Frank rule. But Nur ed Din was jealous of Saladin's success, and seized the fief of Emesa. The two Muslim forces then opposed each other in a wild struggle for possession of Kerak, the key to both Egypt and Mecca. In the breathing spell which this contest afforded the Franks, Manuel Comnenus sent his son-in-law a fleet of one hundred and fifty galleys. But Amaury again, unwisely, decided upon an invasion of Egypt. Leaving Ascalon in October, 1169, he proceeded to Damietta, so often the goal of crusading adventures. A chain across the river prevented the Greeks entering the port. Saladin held the town boldly, and half the Christian army perished, either from hunger, or in the assaults on the walls. The Greek fleet was sunk near Ascalon. On December 21st, Amaury was forced to sign a truce.

Though discouraged he was undismayed, and left for Constantinople—the first king to leave the kingdom—in pursuit of new resources, with which to re-open the war. Even nature joined in the forces that were overwhelming the kingdom. In 1170 a series of earthquakes, which recurred at intervals during several months, ruined Antioch, and shook the walls of Latakia, Tripoli, Edessa, Hamath and Aleppo. Tripoli was reduced to a heap of stones. Tyre, on this occasion the most fortunate of the coastal towns, suffered only the destruction of some of its towers.

III

Amaury, the ambitious, returned from Constantinople with valuable presents of gold and other gifts. He had seen his father-in-law in imperial robes that vied in splendor with those of the caliph in Cairo. He was shown all the Palestine relics the Greek church had collected, but he was more interested in the games and spectacles devised for his entertainment, and the chorus of young girls, and theatrical entertainments provided in his honor. He brought back to Jerusalem the report of these joys, but no soldiers. Nevertheless, he was determined to retrieve his lost fortunes. A mission that he had sent to Europe, in 1169, had been shipwrecked, almost as soon as it set sail. Then he despatched William of Tyre, Archbishop and historian. That embassy returned, minus aid, but with Stephen, son of Thibaut of Blois, as the king's prospective son-in-law. But Stephen shocked even licentious Jerusalem by his wild life, and after creating sufficient scandal, returned to Europe. The west had not even promises to give to the cause.

Nevertheless, Amaury began what proved to be three years of incessant fighting. There was war on every front. He had no sooner camped in Galilee, to defend Banias, than he was impelled to go to the rescue of Kerak. While Amaury hastened to Jerusalem, Saladin led a large force out of Egypt. Nur ed Din, supporting Thomas of Armenia, expelled the Christians from Armenia and Cilicia. In retaliation war was declared by the Prince of Antioch. While Humphrey, the Constable, prevented the capture of Kerak, Saladin obtained possession of Aqaba, thus depriving Palestine of a trading source. At Gaza,

where Amaury assembled his forces, he could muster no more than two hundred and fifty knights, and two thousand foot, for an attack on Saladin. He assailed the frontier fortress of Darum, while Saladin was en route to Gaza. The Turks pillaged that city, and then retired. By the death of the Caliph El 'Adhid in 1171, Saladin became the full ruler of Egypt and as its Sultan made it tributary to El Mustadi, the Caliph of Baghdad. The Shiah power had been expunged, and the Sunnites were once more supreme. The menace of Islamic unity was at hand and, but for the mutual antagonism of Nur ed Din and Saladin, was complete. Amaury withdrew, for a time, to Ascalon, and both sides rested from the campaign.

At this critical juncture aid was offered by a personage who appears intermittently, in the chronicles of the Crusades, "the Old Man of the Mountain." This "Old Man" was the Sheik of the Assassins, so called from *hashashin*, hemp. The existence of this leader and his obedient followers, goes back to the eleventh century. Three Persians, of whom the best known to the western world is the poet, 'Omar Khayim, with Nizam el Mulk and Hassan ibn Subah el Homairi, the active leader of the group and its propagandist, united in their complete detestation of the Islamic faith, and organized a secret sect. Its followers were first drugged with hemp (whence its name), and then initiated into its esoteric and mystic rites. The highest, or inner grade, concealed from its subordinates its rejection of all religious tenets. The sect, which freely used the dagger to gain its ends, spread throughout northern Syria. Benjamin of Tudela notes the area, in the region of Tripoli, which was entirely dominated by the Sheik and his followers, though they paid tribute to the Templars, whose stronghold was in the same territory. From Alamont (the Mountain) in the Lebanon, the Old Man issued his orders. His Assassins are charged with the murder, in 1149, of the caliph of Egypt, and with having twice attempted, in 1174 and 1176, the assassination of Saladin. Other crimes are also attributed to them.

The "Old Man of the Mountain," Sinan ibn Suleiman, according to William of Tyre, sent an emissary to Amaury, offering the conversion of all his followers to Christianity, and mili-

tary aid in the war against the Muslims. Boaldel, the messenger, asked for no more than the remission of the tribute paid the Templars, two thousand pieces of gold a year, exacted after the murder of Raymond, son of the Count of Tripoli, while praying before the altar in the Church of Tortosa. Amaury accepted the proffered aid on these terms, and sent Boaldel back under guard to make terms with the Templars.

"They had already passed the city of Tripoli and were on the point of entering the country of the Assassins when suddenly certain men, brethren of the Temple . . . massacred the messenger of the Sheik." Besant holds that this assassination was determined upon by the Templars to defeat Amaury and to advance their own position as arbiters of Palestine. Amaury succeeded in convincing the "Old Man of the Mountain" that he was innocent of conniving at the crime, though the Templars only punished the guilty officer, Walter du Mensil, perfunctorily. On May 15, 1174, Nur ed Din died, and a few months later Amaury, who had hastily attempted to recapture Banias, succumbed to dysentery in his thirty-eighth year.

IV

Two sovereigns, who had each played a rôle in the overthrow of Egypt, with the advantage on the side of the Muslims, were succeeded by still more contrasting rulers. Nur ed Din had the reputation of a just and religious Muslim, who took nothing from the state and acquired no personal wealth. His one defect was his jealousy of the growing power of the son of Eyub, Saladin, the longest-visioned and ablest of the men who had arisen in Islam since 'Omar. The racial story of Islam may hold us for a sentence or two. The Arabs had yielded to Syrian and Persian influence, and the Ommayyads went down yielding to the Abbasides, with an Arab strain that was to succumb still more to Persian and later to Turkish influence. The Fatimids, part Arab and part African, raised the Islamic power to a great height, but were vanquished by the same enervating influences. The Turks had come in between, and their fresh blood had re-invigorated the Muslims—all overcome by the lure of the dancing girls, and the houris, who were the joy of this world and the promise of the next.

Saladin sprang from a crude and wild mountain race, the Kurds, who still inhabit the steppes that enclose Armenia, and slope down to the Tigris and the Euphrates—a poor land that breeds hardy shepherds and the grooms of sturdy horses. It was thither, according to tradition, that Tiglath Pileser brought the Lost Ten Tribes.⁷ The native tongue is Syriac, and the Jews scattered throughout the ranges still call the country Assyria, a title still applied to it by the Permanent Mandates Commission of the League of Nations.⁸ “The Kurd owns no masters.”⁹ Saladin, son of the governor of Ravad, brought great physical endurance, and single-mindedness of purpose to a cause of which he became the *beau idéal*. He was thirty-six years of age, the hero of Islam, respected by his own people for his strict observance of the tenets of his faith, and held in high regard for his chivalry and bravery by his opponents. Amaury had fraternized with him after the siege of Damietta, and the person of Saladin thus became well known to his arch enemies.

Against Saladin was pitted the unfortunate leprous son of Amaury, a lad only fourteen years of age, Baldwin IV. His forebears had led dissolute lives. They were wild and adventurous men, whose piety was superficial, but who possessed great vigor, and much endurance. His father represented all the craft and lechery of the barons. To his inordinate love for wealth Amaury added the Norman persistence against odds in battle. His courage was the best defense of his wrong-headed policies. His successor, a sickly youth, fair-haired and good-looking, fond of sport and better cultured than his ancestors, son of Agnes, daughter of the younger Jocelyn of Edessa, epitomized the decay of the Latins in Palestine. Confronting the ablest of the Muslims, the new king, hampered by his own disabilities, was without support from distracted Europe. Placed under a regent, whose appointment gave trouble from the outset, the young king was in addition the victim of the mutually jealous Orders, more keen to retain their broad lands than to fight for the church with which they were quarreling, or to protect the Holy City from the Saracens.¹⁰

To support the young king, William Longsword, Marquis of

Montferrat, came to Jerusalem and espoused the king's sister, Sybille. But this brave knight was both a wine-bibber and a gourmand, and he died from his excesses a few months after his marriage. To save the kingdom, Raymond of Tripoli at this juncture made a three years' truce with Saladin, who by a shrewd marriage with the widow of Nur ed Din made himself master of Damascus, and thus deposed its boy Sultan, Melek es Shah. Saladin thus ruled Aleppo and Damascus. He was Sultan of Egypt in his own right. The Caliph of Baghddad was a puppet, whom he advised of his actions, after the event. The union of Islam was approaching completion, but Manuel, Emperor of Byzantium, thought he could prevent it by an attack on Iconium. He was so badly defeated that he never recovered from the blow.

To Rome the retention of Palestine was of the utmost urgency. Its church was the richest that owed allegiance to the Pope.¹¹ The papal power had greatly increased in Europe, owing to the prestige resulting from the possession of Jerusalem. In the absence of military aid, the Pope could do no more than encourage the Franks to persist in their endeavors to retain Palestine. The militant spirit of the Crusade was dead in the western world. To buttress their falling fortunes the ecclesiastics decided to make terms with the eastern churches, which had hitherto kept aloof from the military struggles. Rome sought a dogmatic, as well as a political, victory. In 1170 a strenuous attempt was made to convert both the Jacobites and the Armenians, but they held to their opinions. In 1180 the Maronites, being permitted to retain their married priests, accepted Roman supremacy.

Pope Alexander III. even attempted to win the Mongols for the Christian cause. The Sultan of Iconium, head of a race of mixed Seljuks, Persians, Arabs, and Greeks, was unsuccessfully besought. In 1175 the Pope even sent an embassy to the mysterious Prester John, the presumed king of India, whose people, according to Bar Hebræus, had been converted to Christianity, in the middle of the eleventh century. Prester John is probably a myth, but the Nestorians had, in the seventh century, reached¹² to Kashgar, where the Khataë race tolerated

these Christians. The great wall of China was built as a defense against the Khataë, who too were a cultured race, and influenced by the Nestorians, and by Indian Buddhists rose to supremacy in Central Asia. The king of these "Black Chitans" defeated the Turks, and a rumor spread in Europe that a Nestorian priest, named John, had become king. There was a king of the Khataë whose name was Ung, and his daughter married Genghis Khan. So desperate was the need of the papacy that messengers were sent to this mythical priest-king for help.

Saladin, in 1177, at the conclusion of the three-year treaty, having still to settle the claims of Melek es Shah in order to make himself secure against internal dissension, attacked the Trans-Jordan and Dead Sea fortresses. Crippled Baldwin went, with his men, to the war. Saladin's forces were drawn up in the plain of Ascalon, where the castle of Gezer defended the Jaffa-Jerusalem road. The battle of Gezer was fought on November 25, 1177, and weak Baldwin IV. defeated the mighty Kurdish monarch, who fled, barely escaping with his life. The pursuit, by a few hundred knights, all that Baldwin could muster, was carried to the "canebrake of the starlings,"¹³ but the Latins were too weak to continue the pursuit, or attempt a campaign against Egypt. "The disgrace that covered the Saracen arms in the plain of Ascalon was nobly wiped out on the banks of the Jordan,"¹⁴ where at the Bridge of the Daughters of Jacob, Odo, Grand Master of the Templars, was made a prisoner by the Saracens. Baldwin, in 1180, concluded a new truce with Saladin.

Humphrey the Constable was dead, and the King's disease fast making headway, when William of Tyre returned to Palestine with a new husband for Sybille. His choice fell on Guy de Lusignan, a courageous knight with "no virtue of any kind. . . . There were no longer any self-restraint, any concord, any noble aims among the Christian knights. The patriarch himself, Heraclius, openly led a life of flagrant immorality; Bohemond, count of Antioch, a degraded descendant of the great Bohemond, divorced his wife without any grounds, and married a woman of ill-repute; Raymond of Tripoli quarreled with the

king; on all sides were drinking, dicing, vice and self-indulgence.”¹⁵

“The nations which had received from that country, Palestine, the light of pure religion now saw in it a pattern of all kinds of iniquity.”¹⁶ Williams, a nineteenth-century devout churchman, discussing the immoralities of the Latin Kingdom, adds: “So God abhorred his inheritance and forsook it and went not forth with his armies.” The real iniquity, which destroyed the kingdom, was an offense, not against sex, but against public morals. Renaud de Châtillon, who, by his first marriage to Constance of Antioch, became master of that principality, on her death married the widow of the Constable Humphrey. He thus became lord of the fortress which guarded the eastern marches, and was therefore one of the most responsible men in the country. He broke the truce. The letters of Saladin and of his brother, Seif ed Din, to Pope Lucius III., on the exchange of pilgrim prisoners, contained a fair warning of what a breach of the peace, by the Christians, might effect at this critical time. But neither church nor royal authority was respected at this time, and it is doubtful whether, had there been such dominant authority, the crime would have either been prevented, or adequately protested.

Renaud wilfully broke the truce, “and that in a manner most calculated to exasperate the Muslims.”¹⁷ The importance of the plighted word in the “age when knighthood was in flower” is much stressed in romantic literature. If it meant something between knight and knight, it meant very little in the public agreements between Norman kings and their Muslim enemies. Spoken or signed, the Norman agreement was only observed under duress, not as a matter of honor. From Baldwin to the fall of Acre the admitted royal and baronial laches constitute a large page. The Muslims were not unaware of the use made of absolution to void a pledge. Saladin is made to comment on it freely by some of the Arab historians,¹⁸ and also the chroniclers of later monarchs.¹⁹ The Muslims exceeded the letter of the agreements they gave, in order to impress the Christians, but without avail. They even attempted a meticulous detailing of the length of a treaty, years, months, days and

hours to win the Latins to observance, but the western contempt for the east over-rode not only the engagement of honor, but the prudence required in perilous situations.*

Saladin was in the east, settling internal Muslim differences, when Renaud, in 1182, marched south, thus breaking the treaty. He captured Aqaba which, since 1167, had been in the possession of the Muslims. It was guarded by a small island-fortress, on the Isle de Graye, which protected the town and the pilgrim stations. The town yielded easily, but the castle in the sea refused to surrender. In order to capture it, Renaud had some boats taken to pieces at Ascalon, and carried across country to Aqaba. The whole country was therefore privy to this mad act, but no steps were taken to check it.

A complaint to the sick king brought no result. He was helpless. Saladin took matters in his own hands. He seized eighteen hundred Christian pilgrims, who had been wrecked on the Egyptian coast, put them in irons, and promised to keep them incarcerated till Renaud gave up the Meccan pilgrims he had captured. Renaud, who was reinforced by some Templars, and three hundred booty-seeking Bedouins, ignored Saladin's protest and harried the Hejaz coast, burning all the Arab vessels he could find, from Aqaba to Aden. Profiting by Renaud's example, Saladin had boats built at Suez, and had them borne by camels across Sinai and the Desert of the Wanderings. In 1183 the first of Renaud's boats was captured by Saladin's Moorish sailors.

This bizarre struggle became still more furious when Renaud conceived the mad enterprise of an attack on Medina, in mid-summer. Setting out with his troops from Aqaba, Renaud attempted the desert march. It says much for his determination and endurance, that he actually led his men, in the blazing sun, over the burning sands, to within a day's march of Medina. Saladin sent one of his emirs in pursuit. Renaud's boats at Haura were burnt, and his retreat cut off. The fury of the Muslims knew no bounds. The greater number of the prisoners taken were carried to Cairo and tortured; two men were pub-

* For some years the Mohammedans, simple in their faith, could not understand a religion which permitted the most solemn treaties to be broken whenever a priest could be prevailed on to give absolution.—Besant, p. 391.

licly sacrificed at Medina. Renaud made good his escape to Kerak, but Saladin neither forgot nor forgave this wanton breach of peace, and he took vengeance on Renaud in due course.

The peril of the kingdom was understood as the great tax levy, for its defense, in 1182, makes clear. Saladin, however, was in no hurry for the final struggle on which he had determined. He afforded the Franks ample opportunity to repair their castles, and rebuild and strengthen the walls of their cities, while he was in Mosul arranging Muslim affairs. In June, 1183, Saladin was made ruler of Aleppo and soon thereafter he organized his campaign. From Harnec he reached Damascus in August, and prepared for the attack on Galilee. By the end of September, the Saracens had crossed the Jordan, entered the valley of Jezreel, and attempted a surprise attack on the fort at Afuleh. But the Atabegs had captured Mosul, and when the news reached Saladin he withdrew to Tabor, and then hastily returned to Damascus to renew the war in the east.

Guy de Lusignan had failed to advance the fortunes of the kingdom, so he was deprived of his regency, and a nephew of the king, a child of five, was made co-monarch, with the title of Baldwin V. Being the son of Sybille by her first husband, William Longsword, the authority of his mother was advanced in the conduct of affairs. The half-blind, leprous Baldwin IV. essayed to maintain order, but Guy de Lusignan refused to obey the king when he came to Ascalon, and the young king, in despair, named Raymond of Tripoli, as regent.

Again help was sought in Europe, but none was forthcoming. In 1185 Baldwin IV. died, and shortly after the little co-king, Baldwin V., also passed away, murdered, it was said, by his mother, in order to give the crown to her husband, Guy de Lusignan.

All this time Saladin was making forays, and negotiating with the Pope for the exchange of prisoners on terms of equal rank. In October, 1183, he failed in an attack on Kerak, but in July, 1185, he left Damascus and attacked the Franks at Hesbon. The following month he returned to the assault on Kerak, and again sent a force across the Jordan, in order to

attack Nablus and Jenin. Behind these skirmishes were two motives, to whittle down the Christian strength, and to obtain control of the trade route to Egypt.

It is part of history that the contemporary Christian chroniclers loathed their leaders, and praised the enemy, Saladin. William of Tyre, to whose brilliant pages we owe so much of our knowledge of the period, bitterly bewailed Amaury's attack on Egypt, pointed out its misjudgment, and then threw down his pen in disgust. His concluding pages are full of bitter reflections on the political stupidity, personal cupidity, and immoralities of priests and lay leaders. By way of contrast Ernoul and Bernard the Treasurer²⁰ tell a charming story of Saladin's chivalry. During the siege of Kerak, Humphrey, the stepson of Renaud, married Isabella, the half-sister of Sybille, and Baldwin IV. In honor of the nuptials, Renaud sent Saladin a present of food. When the cause of the gift was explained to Saladin, he had the castle, in which the couple were spending their honeymoon, pointed out to him, and ordered his men to refrain from disturbing its peace.

V

The demise of the king led to an immediate struggle between the Masters of the two Orders. The Barons were opposed to the election of Sybille and her husband, but they could agree on no other candidate than Humphrey of Toron, a shrewd but simple knight, who declined the honor of the crown. Sybille was, therefore, crowned in her own right as the next-of-kin to the deceased monarch, and after acquiring the right she gave her worthless husband, Guy de Lusignan, a crown, and he was king. His brother, Geoffrey, disowned him for his incompetence, and Baldwin of Ramleh, declining to serve so mean a monarch, left Palestine in disgust. Raymond of Tripoli, the most powerful and most unpopular of the barons, revenged himself upon his peers, by a dastardly act of treachery. During a great earthquake and terrifying storms, he hurried to Tiberias, and from there notified Saladin that King Guy proposed to attack that town.

Saladin quickly responded by sending a small army across

the lake. A battle was fought at Kfar Kenna, in which the Muslims under the leadership of Saladin's son, Melek el Afdal, routed the Christians. Almost all of the knights, the garrisons of Kakun and Nazareth, who assembled at Afuleh, about one hundred and forty, hastily gathered for the fray, were killed. Only the Grand Master of the Templars, and his immediate attendants, escaped to Nazareth.

The doughty deeds of one brave knight survive the story of this carnage. Jacques de Maille, a Templar, mounted on a white horse, was so valorous and intrepid that the Christians fondly believed that St. George had again descended from Heaven to aid them. "The Children of Babylon and Sodom," as one writer terms the Saracens, on the death of this brave soldier, respectfully approached his body, bleeding from a thousand wounds, and divided his arms and accoutrements as souvenirs of a valiant man. But individual bravery did not obscure the seriousness of the catastrophic battle fought on May 1, 1187, "When it was more fitting that flowers and roses should be gathered, the people of Nazareth went out to cover the traces of the carnage, and to bury the corpses of their brethren." ²¹

Saladin had already proclaimed a "Holy War" throughout the empire; his forces began assembling, from Egypt, Arabia, Syria, and Mesopotamia. Learning of his son's success he immediately repaired to the neighborhood of Tiberias, which town was still in the possession of the Christians. Raymond, repenting of the mischief he had done, and realizing that the end was approaching, hastened to Jerusalem, made submission to the king and offered his services. Of all the royal councillors in this emergency, he was the wisest, and best informed. But his recent treachery made his opinion unacceptable. Though his wife and children were in peril in Tiberias, and the Countess had notified the king that she could not long hold out, Raymond stood to his judgment that a march over dry roads, in hot summer, to Tiberias, would prove fatal. He advocated and finally won the king's agreement to summon all the knights and men at arms to the Fountain of Sepphoris.

Sepphoris, at that time, was a small, unpretentious, unwallcd

town, on the hills, to the northwest of Nazareth. A strong tower and a church were all the buildings that cast shadows in the fields, that stretched toward the mountains of Upper Galilee, and eastward to Tiberias. About a mile to the south, in an open valley, was a good stream of water that, gushing upward, made the Fountain of Sepphoris. It was to this stream that fifty thousand Christians hurried when the great tocsin rang its alarm throughout the kingdom.

The Patriarch Heraclius refused Raymond's suggestion that he carry the Cross. But he sent it under the protection of two Bishops, Rufin of Acre, and Bernard of Lydda. By sequestering the treasures of Henry II. of England, who had long meditated taking the Cross, but never fulfilled that ambition, King Guy was able to assemble at Sepphoris the largest army that had gathered since the First Crusade. Two thousand knights, eight thousand footmen, large bodies of bowmen and spearmen, were mustered by the Templars and the Hospitallers, who brought the garrisons of their many castles. Raymond brought all his force from Tripoli, Renaud came with the men of Kerak and Schaubeck. Nablus, Cæsarea, Sidon, and Antioch contributed to the host. For five weeks the army lay encamped at Sepphoris, while new recruits came in daily.²² So far the policy of Raymond, who advocated waiting quietly for an attack by the Saracens, on the well-watered ground that he had chosen, prevailed.

By the end of June the Muslim host was seen crossing to the north of Lake Tiberias, and moving up the Jordan Valley to Nazareth, Jezreel, Gilboa, and Mount Tabor, which they desolated with fire and sword. The policy of watchful waiting was not to the liking of the Templars, who remembering Raymond's recent treachery, feared his strategy.

On July 1, 1187, Saladin's army reached the heights above Tiberias and seized the city. Only the castle, in which was Raymond's family, held out. The Templars demanded that the king give battle. Raymond clung to his judgment, and advised waiting for an attack at Sepphoris. He bluntly told the king's council that he preferred to lose his wife and family, to losing the country. The king agreed, but the Templars over-

ruled him. During the night of July 1, the trumpets were sounded, the sleeping soldiers roused, and the great Christian army moved, silently and sadly, to battle.

Raymond of Tripoli led the van; the king was in the center, with the Bishops and the Cross; The Templars occupied the rear. The army moved toward Tiberias. Saladin, who led his army in person, divided his troops so that he forced the Franks to the high ground between Tiberias and Tell Hattin. His troops, by firing the grass, compelled the Christians to do battle on a selected field. The Tell is merely a low ridge, some forty feet high, with two horns, some sixty feet higher at the eastern and western extremities, making a saddle-like formation still known as the Horns of Hattin. On a somewhat lower ridge is the village of Lubieh, with both Tiberias and Hattin in sight. It was beside this village that the bitter battle was fought, in the sweltering afternoon of July 2. At sundown, King Guy gave orders to make camp on this high ground. The Christians remained under arms all night, while the Muslims kept their choking brush-fires burning.

So passed a dreadful night. The dawn brought no release. The Franks were fatally surrounded. There was no other course open than a battle for the springs in the possession of the Saracens. The Templars and the Hospitallers led charge after charge. The Saracens drew them on, and forced them to spend their strength in vain attacks. At length the weary and thirsty foot soldiers broke ranks and began to surrender.

King Guy moved to the summit of the ridge of Hattin, and there attempted to rally his forces. But the soldiers threw down their arms. Surrounding the Cross, with a few faithful men, the king ordered the knights to cease fighting. The Saracens pressed in with a shower of arrow flights, one of which killed the Bishop of Acre, bearing the Cross. "The sons of paradise and the sons of hell," says an Arab writer,³³ "finished their terrible struggle, the arrows flashed through the air like streaks of lightning, and the streams on the hillsides, and the blood of the warriors mingled, and covered the earth like rain."

The king ordered another attack, but Raymond of Tripoli, shouting *Sauve qui peut*, put spurs to his horse, broke through

the ranks, and with Balian of Ibelin, and a few others, galloped through the Saracens, in a headlong flight, to Tyre. Guy continued to stand his ground. Three times the Saracens came up the slope, and three times they were forced back. The fourth attack spelled victory.

All those not killed or driven over the precipice, beyond Hattin, surrendered. Saladin, in his account of the battle to the Caliph, reported, "The field is covered with the dead, men and horses."²⁴

King Guy, his brother Geoffrey, Odo the Grand Master of the Temple, the Grand Master of the Knights of St. John, Renaud of Châtillon, Humphrey of Toron, and the Bishop of Lydda, who had taken the Cross from his fellow bishop, and lost it,* gave up their arms.

In a tent pitched at Lubieh, to the northeast of Tiberias, Saladin immediately received his princely captives. It is related that he treated all but one of them with kindness and consideration. He had never forgiven Renaud for breaking the truce. Renaud refused to purchase his life, at the price of apostasy. When he refused this alternative Saladin drew his scimitar, and, with a single blow, beheaded the once lord of Kerak. Two hundred Templars and Hospitallers, being priests, as well as soldiers, were executed. The king and the princes were sent prisoners to Damascus.²⁵

* There are many versions as to the loss of the Cross, or its hiding by a Frank. But it was never seen again, and so was lost, whether by destruction or burial.

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- ² *Ibid.*, p. 324.
- ³ *Ibid.*, p. 327.
- ⁴ Benjamin of Tudela, Bohn's edition, p. 80.
- ⁵ Besant, p. 340.
- ⁶ William of Tyre, xix, 17, 18.
- ⁷ J. J. Benjamin, *Eight Years in Asia and Africa* (1846-55), London, 1858, p. 95.
- ⁸ Reports, Geneva, 1931, p. 135.
- ⁹ Benjamin, *Ibid.*, p. 133.
- ¹⁰ Conder, p. 130.
- ¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 131.
- ¹² Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, xiii.

- ¹³ William of Tyre, III, p. 353.
- ¹⁴ Williams, I, p. 413.
- ¹⁵ Besant, p. 377.
- ¹⁶ Williams, I, p. 414.
- ¹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 414.
- ¹⁸ Jalal Aldin.
- ¹⁹ Makrizi, Histoire des Sultans mamlouks de l'Egypte, translated by M. Quatremere, Paris, 1842.
- ²⁰ Quoted by E. Rey, Les Colonies Franques, etc., p. 20.
- ²¹ Michaud, II, p. 276.
- ²² Wilken's, pp. 264-273.
- ²³ Omar, quoted by Michaud, II, p. 286.
- ²⁴ *Ibid.*, II, p. 45.
- ²⁵ Boha ed Din, pp. 70-71.

CHAPTER XII

RECAPTURE OF JERUSALEM—1187 TO 1193

PALESTINE was lost to the Franks. A day after the fatal battle Tiberias surrendered. Within five days Acre had opened its gates, and the castle of Toron capitulated. An Egyptian army took Jaffa. Haifa, Cæsarea, Arsuf, Nazareth, Sebaste, and Nablus yielded to the forces sent to capture them. The forts at Sepphoris, Duburieh, Lejjun, Afuleh, and Beisan were easily occupied. Saladin himself marched at the head of the troops that took Sidon. Beirut had to be attacked but speedily capitulated. The rapid movement and discipline of Saladin's forces still arouse admiration, as one follows the calendar of events after the battle of Hattin. If the conqueror feared a new army coming from Europe to wrest his gains from him, by his forced marches and quick movements he forestalled all possible reprisals. Whatever the motive, he left nothing he could take in the hands of the enemy. Some of the castles were exchanged for princely prisoners. Marching south, Saladin took Jamnia, Ramleh, and Darum. Ascalon had to be besieged, and it capitulated only on the orders of King Guy. By September 6, two months after the battle of Hattin, Saladin, with Gaza, Latrun, and Beit Jibrin in his hands, was master of all Palestine, except Jerusalem, Tyre, Tripoli, and the fortified castles of Syria.

Saladin next planned the capture of Jerusalem. The spirit of exaltation, which moves Jalal Aldin's account of the march,¹ may well have been characteristic of the victor:

"The Sultan set out accompanied by the escort of royalty, and a long train of warriors, and the escort of his sons and brothers, and the most promising of his Mamluks, and youths, and the most noble of his chiefs, and the most illustrious of his generals, and aides-de-camp; and they came in the narrow passes in small parties,

and the best cavalry, in places where one could ride in larger bodies; and there were the yellow standard-poles, for the standards which were made of yellow, white and brown; and the horsemen, and whosoever, from zeal in the faith, was ready to barter his life and soul."

On September 20, Saladin approached the west gate of Jerusalem and, fixing his camp at the northeastern angle of the wall, swore if necessary to take the city by storm. The green and yellow banners of the Muslims were unfurled before the walls of Jerusalem, at the hour of the evening prayer. "The enthusiasm of the army of Saladin on beholding the walls of their Beit-el-Makuddas, and the sacred domes of es-Sakrah and el-Aksa, was little less intense than that of the Christian army on its first approach; the terror of the besieged Saracens on that occasion could not exceed that of the Christians now." ^a

Writing of the siege to the Caliph, Saladin compared the walls to a collar, and reported his desire to take the city by capitulation.^a Twenty thousand adult Christians, mostly monks and women, were in the city, and these watched, with great anxiety, ten thousand well-appointed cavalry intercepting all fugitives. Until Balian of Ibelin (Jamnia) arrived, under safe-conduct, to assume the direction of affairs, the Christians were leaderless. The Patriarch absolved Balian of his oath, and even Saladin, who no doubt preferred to deal with a soldier rather than with priests, approved this breach of parole. Balian knighted some fifty youngsters, who had no claim to gentle blood, and minted the silver in the treasury of the Holy Sepulchre, to finance the defense of the city. The inhabitants had no hope of succour. Saladin, blusteringly, threatened the destruction of the city and its residents. But when some of his advisers hotly demanded a repetition of Hakem's insensate destruction of the Christian fanes he is reported to have answered: "Jerusalem is the House of God, that is part of my faith. I would not willingly assail the House of God, if I can possess it by treaty and friendship."

Jalal Aldin, claiming that there were sixty thousand fighting men in Jerusalem,^a says, as soon as Saladin encamped he "hemmed in the Franks closely, and brought against them

abundance of destructive engines . . . the wall was also threatened; and the small towers being found to be overthrown by stones cast from without . . . were a source of anxiety . . . and the place obliged to sue for peace—for trenches cut off the resources.”

Approached by Balian for terms, Saladin offered him a sportsman's truce. The Christians might remain in the city till the following Pentecost. To that date he would provision Jerusalem and make it “the cheapest market in the world.” If after that date they could continue to hold it, they should keep it; “if not, give it up, and I will see you safe and sound on Christian soil.” With these terms went an offer of thirty thousand bezants, in cash. But “every mark of humiliation which superstition could invent or devotion practice was had recourse to by the inhabitants.”⁵

For fifteen days they held out. By this time a mass attack on one part of the wall had undermined it, and it began to totter. Prizes were offered the defenders to man the breach, but the Saracens were momentarily on the walls, and Saladin in no mood for parley, when Balian again asked for terms. The Christian soldiers offered to fight their way out, but the more prudent Patriarch, determined that the lives of the women should be spared, urged further attempts at capitulation. Bernard, the Treasurer, reports pathetically:

“The ladies of Jerusalem took cauldrons and placed them before Mount Calvary, and having filled them with cold water, put their daughters in them up to the neck, and cut off their tresses, and threw them away. Monks, priests and nuns went barefooted round the wall of the city, bearing in procession the Cross before them. The priests bore on their heads the Corpus Domini, but our Lord Jesus Christ would not listen to any prayer that they made, by reason of the stinking luxury and adultery in the city which prevented any prayer from mounting up to God.”⁶

Saladin next threatened to destroy the Holy Sepulchre when he entered. The Christians in turn threatened to set fire to the city, pull down the Dome of the Rock, kill the five thousand Muslim prisoners, and all their own women and children before they would capitulate.⁷ These were verbal passages at arms.

Saladin drove a hard bargain with Balian, whose only known resource was the balance of the treasure of the English King, Henry II. The Muslims, however, suspected, and subsequently complained, that the Christians had immense treasures in the churches, and managed on their departure to take them away. The price of capitulation was thirty bezants for every man, and ten for every woman and child. The negotiator accepted this rate for the rich, but traded hard for the poor. Saladin was willing to let the twenty thousand poor people go for one hundred thousand bezants. "It was finally arranged that seven thousand men should be ransomed for thirty thousand bezants, two women and ten children to count as one man."^a They were given time in which to sell their effects. The gates of the city were closed, and the Saracens permitted to enter the David gate, and buy for cash what the Christians chose to sell.

On Friday, October 2, 1187, the evacuation began. Thirty thousand bezants were paid for the ransom of the poor. Seven thousand were thereupon permitted to depart. Seif ed Din, brother of Saladin, secured the release of a thousand Armenians by asking for a present of them as slaves, and this being granted he set all the people free. Saladin, who watched the procession from a throne pitched before his tent, not to be outdone in generosity, gave the Patriarch seven hundred of those left, and to Balian he presented five hundred. Then he made his own alms, by offering freedom to all those who could not pay ransom, but threatening to hold as prisoners all those who took unfair advantage of his offer.

The Patriarch and Balian offered themselves as hostages for the eleven thousand for whom there were no funds, but this Saladin refused, and he released, at his own expense, the widows and orphans of those who had fallen at Tiberias: "He gave largely from his own private purse to all the ladies and noble maidens, so that they gave thanks to God for the honor and wealth that Saladin bestowed on them."

Having promised the people safe-conduct to Christian soil he divided them into three parties, giving each group an escort of fifty knights. "These when they saw men, women, and

children fatigued, would make their squires go on foot, and put the wearied exiles on horseback, while they themselves carried the children." The refugees reached Tripoli, where Raymond would not admit them. Instead, he stripped his fellow Christians and brought them prisoners into the city. "The poor of them dispersed into Armenia and the neighboring countries. The names of the Christians linger yet, however, in the Syrian towns, and many of their descendants, long since converted to the faith of the country, may be found in every town and village between Antioch and Ascalon."⁹

Queen Sybille and her sister were allowed to go unransomed. According to Jalal Aldin the Muslim treasury gained one hundred thousand dinars in ransom money, and some fourteen thousand prisoners, though there was much corruption among the collectors. Some Greeks were permitted to remain in the city, and for forty thousand bezants were given custody of the Sepulchre, the pilgrims to pay a bezant each. Jews either remained in the city, or were immediately permitted to resettle in it.¹⁰

II

"Then was accomplished that which threw light upon the broad road to victory and exultation. . . . I also, said 'Omar, wrote among those who announced the joyful tidings of this surrender. . . . Men heard of this glorious victory and great conquest and came to visit the city from all the distant highways, and walked into it from every path, and made a sacred procession from the Beit-el-Makuddas to the Ancient House, Mecca, and joyfully sported among the flowers of generosity in the land of beauty."¹¹

The Arab exultation was written in many forms. Another relates of Saladin:

"He obtained an exaltation to the satisfaction of martyrs, by means of his fixed design for the overthrow, for the second time, of the Trinitarians and Infidels . . . and the partners in mystery—the bells—belied their name, being silent, and the sight deceiving tricks of the priests were made subservient."

This hyperbole is even manifest in the report of Kadi'l to the Caliph, in whose name Saladin was acting:

"God has given us a victory over the enemy whose spears are now broken to pieces, whose sword is now blunted to a staff. Saladin took this and that, which were really towns and cities, though designated by the names of countries, because they possessed cornfields and tillage grounds, strongholds and good lands, lakes and islands, mosques and pulpits, troops and soldiers . . . from their places of prayer he cast down the cross and set up the *adan*."

He then proceeded to describe the captured capital:

"It had been so well attended by infidelity that it had become a paradise. . . . They rebuilt it with columns and slabs of marble. . . . There they erected all those curious fountains of marble which poured forth water in abundance, and of which the flow never ceased. For them iron was easy to be cut and let itself be twisted into a variety of forms. . . . Nothing is seen here but sitting places, that resemble gardens, and are coated with shining marble; there are columns to which sprouting leaves give the appearance of trees."

Then in more prosaic form he notified the Caliph that the victory would provide no cash for his treasury and that Saladin was repairing the fortresses, and arming the walls.¹²

The formal entry of Saladin into Jerusalem on Friday, October 1, 1178, was like that of 'Omar, and unlike that of the first Crusaders.¹³ Though he turned all other churches into mosques, Saladin spared the Church of the Holy Sepulchre. In his hour of triumph he exhibited his freedom from fanaticism, and his calm understanding, by realizing that it was the site, and not the Church of the Sepulchre, that excited Christian veneration. He had no illusion as to the possibility of eradicating Christianity.

From the roof of the Dome of the Rock the great cross of gold was dragged down, but the Muslims were horrified at discovering that the Sacra had been mutilated by Christian pilgrims in search of souvenirs. To check this vandalism the Rock had been covered with cement. The coating was removed, and Saladin led in the task of cleansing the walls and pavements from pollution. Afdal brought five camel loads of perfume and rose oil from Damascus for the great purification.¹⁴ The affection for the Rock, difficult as it is to explain this something less than idolatry, was very real, and fills pages of records

that but for this strange exuberance and extravagance concerning the Rock, and the Dome that covered it, would read like sober, and even cynical chronicles.

The capture of the city, on Friday, the day Mohammad was supposed to have ascended thence to Heaven, aroused the enthusiasm of the Islamic world, dervishes and Ulema hastened to the city. The first Muslim sermon was preached in the Dome by Mohammad ibn Zeky on the following Friday, October 8, 1187. Through its platitudes, which have been preserved, run two ideas, the greatness of the victory, and horror at the impiety and polytheism of the Christian creed. Saladin, whose own letter to the Caliph, describing the campaign, is couched in terms of religious exaltation, reported as a good general that before leaving the captured city he had attended to the repair of the walls.*

What for eighty-eight years had been a Christian world, a Latin Kingdom, and a Frankish feudal center was once more a Muslim world. The marks of Christianity were either obliterated or painted over and hidden from view; the Muezzin call again rang out triumphantly.

Neither massacre, plundering, nor violence attended the re-entry of the Muslims. The Jews and other non-Christians were soon afterwards permitted to resettle in Jerusalem.

Saladin, however, did not rest upon his great victory. He made a levy of money and men, for the continuance of the campaign. War was renewed by an attack on Tyre, which was defended by Conrad of Montferrat. The Muslims on this occasion, December, 1187, attacked the city with a fleet, which, however, was defeated, and the siege raised. In the spring of 1188 Saladin again took to the field. His armies marched to battle after battle, during that year, and during both 1189 and 1190. He captured place after place, until only Tyre, Tripoli, and Antioch remained in the possession of the Franks; and in a letter to Frederick Barbarossa, he threatened to take these three fortresses by storm if they did not surrender.

* Ibn Khallikan (IV, p. 467) reports watching Saladin on horseback supervising the repairs.

III

All Europe knew that the Latin Kingdom was dead. The emotional disturbance created by the loss of Jerusalem, and its sacred sites, is clearly depicted in the language of the Bull of Gregory VIII., issued at Ferrara, "on the IV of the Calends of November," 1187, but the preaching of the Third Crusade, by William of Tyre, was only partially successful. Fasts and mortifications were ordered, and the Council of Paris, in 1188, established the "Saladin tax" for the financing of a new effort. Three kings took the Cross. Frederick Barbarossa, courteously, notified Saladin that he would come and attack him, and marched two hundred thousand Germans through Europe. He fought the Huns who blocked his path, landed his army in Asia Minor, took Iconium, but caught a chill and died in a skirmish along the Armenian border.

The two other monarchs who led the Third Crusade were Philip of France, who reached Acre, but squabbled and returned home, and Richard of England, "the Lion Hearted," adorable for personal bravery, and physical prowess—after Godfrey, the best character among the leaders of the Crusades—but who obviously neither pined for Holy Places, nor had ambition to be King of Jerusalem. Nor was he willing to play the rôle of obedient vassal to the church. Independent of these royal armies, considerable military companies set out for Palestine.

On the death of Barbarossa his army melted away, and only some five thousand Germans eventually reached Acre, which port was recaptured from the Muslims, by Conrad of Montferrat. That prince held Tyre, but he formed an alliance with the Pisans, who as usual drove a good bargain, and with the aid of their fleet, and the remnant of the German army attacked Acre. Guy de Lusignan, and other nobles, accepted this opportunity as a good excuse for breaking their parole.

The Christians would have had an excellent advantage for the landing of reinforcements, if they gained the well-fortified port. Saladin, therefore, immediately went to the defense of

the garrison. The Saracens, always good soldiers, were poor sailors. They could not check the attack on the water side, even though Saladin himself penetrated the Christian land lines, and mounted the walls of Acre. The two armies fought each other in the swampy lands of the bay of Acre for twenty-three months, to July, 1191, when the garrison was reduced to six thousand starving Muslims. Every foot of ground, from the Ladder of Tyre to some miles south of the Belus, was fought over repeatedly.

By this time the Europeans had learnt a useful lesson. Excepting the Germans, they transported their men by sea to Palestine, therefore, though fewer men started out than in the earlier Crusades, actually more men landed in the country they sought to conquer. Philip arrived well ahead of Richard, the larger part of whose forces came ahead of the king. The chaplain to Baldwin, Archbishop of Canterbury, writing to England, in October, 1190, complained bitterly that "in the camp there is neither chastity, sobriety, faith nor charity." Richard was in no hurry. En route he attacked Cyprus and captured it, thus coming to Palestine with a laurel of victory. He further interrupted his journey by an elaborate celebration of his marriage to Berengaria, daughter of the king of Navarre. So in leisurely fashion he came to embattled Acre, on June 8, 1191, amid the rejoicing of the huge Christian army, which was sadly lacking in supplies. They welcomed Richard with torches and bonfires, until "the Turks thought the whole valley was on fire."

The two kings no sooner met than they quarrelled, Richard offering the auxiliaries one *aurei* a month more, than did Philip. The siege was, however, pressed with great earnestness, the French mining the walls. A breach was effected on July 3, and the grim battle, for the Bloody Tower of Acre, began. On July 12, the besieged offered to capitulate, promising to return the Holy Cross, two thousand nobles, and five hundred other Christian prisoners, if the garrison were allowed to leave the fortress. It was during this siege that Saladin was wounded by the dagger of an assassin in the employ of the "Old Man of the Mountain." The terms being accepted, Acre surrendered,

and in July, 1191, the Norman flag was once more raised over the Bloody Tower.

In the stipulations, Saladin's representatives had promised to restore the True Cross. This agreement was not kept, Saladin alleging that Richard had not kept all of his engagements. By way of revenge Richard ordered the execution of two thousand seven hundred Muslim prisoners. This act of reprisal led to an immediate renewal of the war.

But the two kings had to settle other differences first. The French wanted Conrad of Montferrat named king of what remained of the Latin Kingdom; Richard supported Guy de Lusignan, whose wife, Sybille, being dead, his title was in doubt. The issue was settled by a compromise, but Philip, being dissatisfied, returned to Europe, and left the field to Richard and his allies. The English king now had at his disposal the largest army ever gathered in Palestine, to champion the Cross. It was three hundred thousand men strong, though not more than a third took part in any battle.

Saladin, therefore, withdrew his armies to Shefa 'Amr and Nazareth to await events. "So the Franks assembled until the number of men and the wealth that was collected, surpassed computation . . . they marched by rough ways and easy ways, by land and sea, going over every deep lake and ravine, in the belief that they would become masters of Jerusalem." ¹⁵

Richard prepared immediately for a march to the south, but wine, women, and song kept his soldiers in the neighborhood of Acre, and it was September before he could restore discipline and move his troops, who were accompanied by the Templars. The army marched along the coast, provisioned by supplies brought by the fleet in barges and tow-boats. The Turks, under Saladin and Melek el Adil, using the cover of the forests which then existed along the coast to Cæsarea, attacked the flanks of the army, without, however, precipitating a general engagement. The forward movement was slow. Richard was slightly wounded in a skirmish at the Nahr Iskanderuni, but three days later, at the Nahr el Falik, about five miles north of Arsuf, Saladin was reported as coming towards the sea with three hundred thousand men.

Richard, dividing his army into five groups, gave battle to the men from Nubia, Damascus, Mosul, Egypt, and the Bedouins of the desert.

The Christian force at Arsuf was larger than that defeated at Hattin, which Richard, by his deeds of valor and brave leadership, now fully avenged. "The ground was strewn with scimitars and long cane lances tufted with black ostrich feathers." Thousands of Muslims were slain, but the Christian loss was small. Arsuf was Saladin's greatest single defeat in his long military career. Resourceful as ever, he hastily withdrew his army to Medjel Yaba, and rapidly dismantled all the fortresses and towns which could be of advantage to Richard, so that only Darum, on the Egyptian frontier, Jerusalem, and the distant fortress of Kerak, were left standing.

When the English reached Jaffa, on September 10, they found the town hopelessly ruined and therefore camped "in an olive garden on the left side of the town." Here the two queens of England and of Sicily came to port, and the army rested, and enjoyed the abundance of figs, grapes, pomegranates, and citrons that grew in the district.

Saladin was ready to talk peace, but in demanding all the lands which had been ruled by Baldwin the Leper, Richard asked too much. The negotiations were therefore broken off, and the English king began to prepare for the march to Jerusalem. In one of his overtures Richard offered in marriage his sister, Jane, widow of William of Sicily, to Saladin's brother, Melek el Adil, the two to rule jointly.⁴⁸ The clerics on both sides objected to this plan. Mistakenly Richard and his army lingered for several weeks between Lydda and Ramleh, for by the time his vanguard reached Beit Nuba the winter rains were upon them, and discouraged they returned, and his leaders advised that the army return to Ascalon, fortify it, and winter there.

Richard is said to have ridden once within sight of Jerusalem, and to have wept at his failure to attack it.

While the English returned to Ascalon and Jamnia, the French returned to Acre and Jaffa, and the army began to disintegrate. To hold the French, Richard gave his newly ac-

quired kingdom of Cyprus to Conrad of Montferrat, who however never achieved his new rank, for he was assassinated by emissaries of the "Old Man of the Mountain." The French suspected Richard of complicity in this murder, and were unwilling to further his military plans. He thereupon gave Cyprus to Guy de Lusignan, and his men, early in the spring, took Darum and commanded the road to Egypt. Once more his army took the road to Jerusalem, but after the capture of Beit Jibrin they returned to Ascalon, and rebuilt its fortifications. The battle of Darum was a real victory. A great number of Muslims, caught napping, were slain, and the possibility of reinforcements from Egypt was well checked.

A party of French and English soldiers reached Coloniah, within five miles of the capital. Another group of soldiers reached Beit Nuba, within twelve miles of Jerusalem, in June, 1192, but this was the limit of the British offensive.

Saladin's characteristic resourcefulness was the explanation of Richard's failure to attack Jerusalem. Immediately after the battle of Arsuf he proceeded to Jerusalem, and, taking up his quarters in the deserted Hospital of the Knights of St. John, personally superintended the work of repairing the walls, and putting the city in a condition of defense. Ten thousand Christian prisoners were employed in the digging of a deep fosse, and in repairing the northern wall. Saladin, himself, it is related, brought stones in his saddle cloth and, thus encouraged, his men completed in six months what would otherwise have been the work of years.

Meanwhile, Richard, affected by bad news from England, returned to Acre and, having reason to fear his communications by sea, decided upon an attack on Beirut. Saladin, well informed of Richard's movements, sent his son, El Afdal, to Damascus to prepare for Richard's advance. As soon as the English King learnt that Beirut was being aided by an army from Damascus, he withdrew from the proposed attack on the Syrian port. Saladin, while Richard was going north, made a surprise attack on Jaffa, which had been practically deserted by English troops. In July the Muslims breached the walls of the town, obtained an entry, and massacred all the inhabit-

ants and pigs they found there, and staved in all the wine barrels.

Only the citadel of Jaffa held out, and its guardians cleverly negotiated a truce with Saladin, while they sent messengers to Richard to come to the rescue. The Lion Hearted came hurriedly by sea, and on August 1, 1192, plunged into the waves, and by characteristic deeds of valor rescued the citadel and its inhabitants. Saladin, discouraged, retired to Yazur, though his forces held the town.

Both Richard and Saladin now recognized that they had stalemated each other. Richard could not attempt to take Jerusalem. Saladin could not drive Richard out of Palestine. Richard initiated the negotiations for a peace, to which Saladin yielded only slowly. But on September 2, 1192, a truce, to cover a period of three years and eight months, was signed at Ramleh. The Crusading chiefs, who had so often broken their word, swore solemn oaths to observe the treaty by land or sea; but Richard held out his hand to Saladin, observing, "there was his hand on it, a king's word might be taken without an oath." Saladin grasped the proffered hand.

After the agreements were signed, the Christians and the Muslims dropped their hatred and horror of each other and joined in a great celebration. During the final peace negotiations three groups of unarmed English Crusaders were permitted to enter Jerusalem, and the Bishop of Salisbury was courteously entertained by Saladin.

By the treaty, the seaboard from Jaffa to Cæsarea and from Acre to Tyre remained in the hands of the Franks. Lydda and Ramleh were to be considered neutral ground, Ascalon was not to be rebuilt, and pilgrims were to be permitted to enter Jerusalem and visit the Christian holy places. After the peace the Crusaders were given the privilege of visiting the shrines they had so bitterly fought for, but this privilege, for which, according to the Arab writers,¹⁷ five hundred thousand had lost their lives from the beginning of the siege of Acre, was lightly esteemed.¹⁸

A few weeks after the truce was ratified, Richard, on October 9, sailed away, and left Palestine forever.

Less than six months after, on March 4, 1193, Saladin, greatest of the Muslims, died of fever in his fifty-sixth year. "The super-excellent, the accomplished, and efficient executive . . . the intelligent eye of his age, illuminated by the glitter of lightning."¹⁹ They buried him in the Jamia el Amuy mosque in Damascus, opposite the "magic wall of glass," a mosaic of iridescent glass made by Byzantine artists, when the building was erected as a cathedral.

Boha ed Din wrote truly of Saladin: "Never since the death of the first four caliphs, never since that time has the faith, or have the faithful, suffered such a blow as that which lighted on them when Saladin died."²⁰ "When good people heard of his decease, there was great fright and wailing, and tumult in the neighboring regions, and a great agitation; and by God he was worthy of it."²¹

He had kept the faith. At his death the Amalfi again had their trading rights, the Jews were resettled in Jerusalem, hundreds of Christian women had been released from imprisonment, and even the Latin priests were tolerated. His last words to his son, Melek edh Dhaher, were: "Beware of bloodshed: trust not in that; for spilt blood never sleeps. . . . Nourish no hatred of anyone, for death spares none."

IV

After the fall of Jerusalem there is perceptible a distinct change in the sentiment of the western world towards Palestine. The Church deprived of its fat glebe lands, its village revenues, and suffering from the expulsion of monks, nuns, and clerics, sustained a great loss in means, as well as in prestige. The preaching of new crusades, and the discovery of some new method of dominating the infidel, was of paramount importance to the ecclesiastical world. Mobs could be stirred to revivalistic excesses, and even to such mad escapades as the ill-fated Children's Crusade, and the persecution of unbelievers in Europe, but the zeal for the recovery of the Holy Sepulchre had disappeared, and could not be revived.

The continuance of the shadow of the Latin Kingdom, after Hattin, assumed the character of a personal adventure, if we

exclude the wholly hopeless and helpless voyage of Louis the Pious, but it had a practical interest to the three Orders which were entirely dependent upon the theory of the Crusade for their existence. In the practical sense the Crusaders made but little contribution to the land they were so eager to possess, except the castles which were their strongholds, and the great churches which were their expression of piety. They introduced the pointed arch in Palestinean architecture. Of their great forts, and immense cathedrals, the ruins of a dozen still stand. Most of these were destroyed in the wars, many crumbled from the erosion that follows disuse.

The Franks came, vastly ignorant, and were even thoroughly confused in their use of Biblical designations. Their hatred of the infidel was as much assumed as their round and elaborate oaths. What they assimilated and took back to Europe is not part of this record, but it was infinitely more in customs, language, education, knowledge and an appreciation of all the domestic arts, than what they brought to the East, which was still, in most things, four or five hundred years ahead of Europe.

A century of war and strife, followed by nearly another of tenuous clinging to the coast could not have posited much. Their difficulties were multiplied by the numerous lands from which they came. John of Würzburg²² lists for the middle era of the kingdom, Latins, Germans, Hungarians, Scots, Navarrese, Bretons, English, Franks, Ruthenians, Bohemians, Greeks, Bulgarians, Georgians, Armenians, Syrians, Persian Nestorians, Indians, Egyptians, Copts, Maronites, and natives from the Nile Delta. The list might be much extended, for it was the period of the great self-willed city-states in Europe, and Amalfi, Pisans, Genoese, Venetians, and Marseillais, who had quarters in all the bigger cities, owned villages, and had trading rights would, in all probability, have submitted to any of the above designations, only under pressure. Besides all these, Norsemen, Danes, Frisians, Tartars, Jews, Arabs, Russians, Nubians, and Samaritans, can be safely added to the greatest human agglomeration drawn together in one small area of the globe. The masses were divided religiously, by the impressive subdivision

of Christian sects, the two broad divisions in the Muslim world, and the presence in Syria of the Assassins, and of the Druzes east of the Hermon.

A babel of tongues, in which Norman French was the official language, was in vogue. The immigrants, of course, all used their native tongues, though in the northern cities Syriac (Chaldean) dominated, while in the Palestinian towns Greek was the common tongue, and the fellaheen, who were only partly Arab in race, were still using Aramaic.

The land was closely settled. This is attested by the number of villages allotted to the church and to the trading corporations, for revenue. A meticulous analysis of the immense registers might reveal a wealth of social statistics, though the overlapping, and constant changes in the grants, of rights and privileges, forbid any hope of more than comparative accuracy. In Judea and Galilee there is recorded the grant of four hundred and forty villages to the church and the traders. In addition the church drew, in tithes, from everything, including the spoils of war.

The government revenue came largely from the capitation tax paid by Muslims, Jews, and Syrian Christians, while the towns levied imposts on imports and exports. The knights abstained from all trade. The Jews, carefully guarded in the port towns, had much of the commerce in their hands. They were not allowed to hold land, were treated as inferior to the Muslims, and were largely artisans, glass-blowers in Sidon, and furriers, and dyers in Jerusalem. The Samaritans were better tolerated, and Benjamin of Tudela refers to their settlements in cities other than Shechem. Their larger settlements were in Cæsarea, Ascalon, and Gaza. No common man without a passport could move throughout the country. The markets were taxed daily by an official, and imports and exports closely watched at the ports.

The great variety of the trade is recorded in the capture by Richard of England, near Beersheba, of a caravan. It was coming from Cairo and going east. The loot included spices, gold and silver, silk cloaks, purple and scarlet robes, battering rams and weapons, coats of mail, cushions, pavilion and tents,

biscuit, bread, barley, grain, meal, preserves, medicines, basins, bladders, chessboards, silver dishes, candlesticks, beer, cinnamon, sugar and wax. This was a large trading outfit probably going to one of the great fairs, for it numbered four thousand seven hundred dromedaries and camels and, besides, thousands of mules; the horses of the guard numbered seventeen hundred.

Life was still a case of "early to bed and early to rise." The Franks read little but gambled prodigiously at "tables" and dice, and ate and drank enormously. The genteel played at chess, checkers, and backgammon, while all the feudal sports were of course practiced in field and tourney, and imitated by the Saracens. The environment was luxurious, beyond anything known to western Europe at that age. The knights were clad in silk, lined with miniver—the gray Siberian squirrel, which provided the Jewish furriers and fur merchants with trade. The same two materials were used for bath robes. Most of the castles had baths. The merchants dressed more soberly, but the squires and pages wore the quaint multicolored garments of the period. Monks, palmers, and the common people all wore coarse clothing. The women folk of the Franks, who enjoyed the utmost freedom, went magnificently gowned. Samite and cloth of gold embroidered with pearls and jewels were the *dernier cri*. Brides were arrayed in gold cloth, and wore veils of gold mesh; the noble ladies of the port towns paraded on the roofs of their palatial homes, wearing coronets of gold.²³

Gold and jewel encrusted goblets were in fairly common use, and the heavily laden tables were spread with fine linen cloths. The daily life, in its eating and drinking, the presence of the story teller, the wandering minstrel, and much else, was common to the European of the period. Game was plentiful, and from the Arabs the Normans learnt to season food with vinegar and lemon, and to quaff sherbet, cooled by the snow of Hermon.

The vast intermixture of races produced much intermarriage. The princes married Armenian Christians, and the bourgeois married the Saracen women willing to be baptized. From these sprang the half-eastern race of Poulains. The offspring of Frank fathers and Greek mothers were called Gasmoules.²⁴

Continence was rarely practiced, and some of the races, like the Druzes who were of Persian stock, and the Ismailieh, were accused of incest and phallic worship.²⁵ But the dancing girls of Syria and India, a new experience to the warriors, were extremely enticing and destructive to discipline. We find them holding the army in Antioch in the First Crusade, and despite all of Richard's severe regulations they detained his army in Acre, delaying the forward movement. We find them again, in Jaffa, when the Lion Hearted arrived, so alluring that their presence explains the failure of the English to reach Jerusalem, or attempt its capture, though the reinforcement of Saladin's army was a considerable factor. The vogue had spread long before this. Bands of girls were invited to the castles, by which time, observes one historian, chivalry was already dead, and troupes of dancers were even shipped to Europe.

Gross sexual immorality is held responsible for the loss of the Sepulchre and the Kingdom. This theme was preached all over Europe. It is referred to in Gregory's Bull. The Europeans, at home, being no better than their fellows in Palestine, the intense, but brief, penitence that followed the news of Saladin's capture of Jerusalem, assumed throughout Europe a most rigorous form. Luxuries were banned from the cities, all sorts of austerities were prescribed, and the morals of the cloisters were reformed.

Judging by the particulars in the two Frank codes of Palestine, the Council of Morals, at Nablus, and the Assizes of Jerusalem, the accusations of the moralists were well founded. The whole tenor of life, in court, hostel and inn, among all classes and all callings, was plainly lewd. Nor, to accept the preachments of the age, did the afflictions, which came as a punishment for these sins, in any degree affect the conduct of the world, either in Europe or Palestine for any length of time. The height of lechery was apparently reached during the siege of Acre, when in December, 1190, a Frank ship with three hundred women, from Cyprus, and the adjacent islands, arrived and distributed their favors without regard to race or creed, according as Muslim or Christian greeted them on landing.²⁶

Michaud relates the same incident,²⁷ but confines the prostitution to the Christians, who, already afflicted by contagious

diseases due to excesses and debauchery, scandalized the Saracens by their indulgence in all the vices of Europe and Asia.

To the sum of evils that brought about the downfall of the Kingdom must be added the mutual jealousy of the leaders. Aside from Godfrey, the only one who sacrificed in the common interest, was Richard of England, and he obviously had no intention of remaining in Palestine. The Kingdom was continually reinforced by the arrival of pilgrim knights and men of arms, from the west, and so for all practical purposes it remained a part of the west transplanted in the east. The Crusaders lived riotous and superstitious lives, sought heaven by the slaughter of Saracens, but copied the orientals in magnificence, voluptuousness and dress, and fraternized freely with them in spells of peace. Their mutual jealousy was destructive, and their practical contempt for the churchmen, who were their presumed spiritual leaders, was a considerable factor in their demoralization.

The spirit of the age in this respect is told in a story of Renaud's revenge. Against the wishes of the Patriarch of Antioch, Constance, Lady of Antioch, chose the knight Renaud de Châtillon as her husband. Whereupon the Patriarch spread scandalous stories reflecting on the morals of the bridal couple. . . . As a punishment, Renaud set the Patriarch all day in the sun, and by covering the venerable baldhead with honey, invited the wasps to torment the ecclesiastic. The badly stung prelate hastened thereafter to Jerusalem, powerless against his adversary.

The kingdom of Jerusalem was founded like a Roman colony, by men. The women who came with the Crusaders either died on the way, unable to endure the fatigue, heat, and misery of the march, or fell into the hands of the Turks, in whose harems they were prized captives.

REFERENCES

- ¹ Jalal Aldin, pp. 207, *et seq.*
- ² Williams (quoting Radulfus, Abbot of Coggeshall, an eye witness), I, p. 416
- ³ Michaud, II, p. 489.
- ⁴ Jalal Aldin, pp. 213, *et seq.*

- ⁵ Williams, I, p. 416.
⁶ Quoted by Besant, p. 397.
⁷ Michaud, II, p. 300.
⁸ Besant, p. 398.
⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 401.
¹⁰ Adolf Jellinek, *Geschichte Hebräische Quellen*, V, f.
¹¹ Jalal Aldin, pp. 223-4.
¹² Ibn Khallikan, IV, pp. 520-528.
¹³ Conder, p. 157.
¹⁴ Joseph Toussaint Reinaud, in Michaud's *Bibliothèque des Croisades*, Paris, 1829, IV, p. 215.
¹⁵ Jalal Aldin, pp. 259-261.
¹⁶ Besant, p. 411.
¹⁷ Michaud, II, p. 434.
¹⁸ Besant, p. 463.
¹⁹ Jalal Aldin, p. 196.
²⁰ Boha ed Din, II., 172-182.
²¹ Jalal Aldin, p. 264.
²² Reinhold Röhrich edition, pp. 41, 69.
²³ Robinson, *Researches*, 1838, II, p. 482.
²⁴ James de Vitry, p. 58.
²⁵ Benjamin of Tudela, p. 80.
²⁶ Besant, p. 447.
²⁷ Michaud, II, p. 402.

CHAPTER XIII

END OF THE LATIN KINGDOM—1193 TO 1274

SALADIN's death was almost fatal to the Muslim cause, but the Christians were too weak to take advantage of the dynastic struggles that followed the conqueror's demise. The great Sultan had seventeen sons and one daughter. The three eldest sons divided their father's empire. El Afdal, reigning at Damascus, was lord of Palestine; el 'Aziz Othman became Sultan of Cairo, and edh Dhaher governed Aleppo. The Sultan's brother, El Adil, who had been most active in the wars, was appointed governor of Kerak, but combining with the nephew who was lord of Egypt he, in 1196, deposed the other nephew in Damascus, who defeated and dejected betook himself to the wilds of the Hauran. So El Adil became Sultan of Damascus and head of the Eyub dynasty.

The Christian cause was vaguely represented by a series of shadow kings, monarchs of Jerusalem, in name, who never set foot in the city, and exercised little control beyond the coastal cities in which they reigned. The quarrel between Richard of England and Philip of France had continued Guy de Lusignan's life interest in the kingdom. When Guy's successor, Conrad of Montferrat, was assassinated in 1192, Henry of Champagne became theoretical King of Jerusalem, for Guy found more pleasure and profit in ruling Cyprus, which Richard sold him for a small amount of cash. Henry died from a fall from the balcony of his palace at Acre. John of Brienne, who by his marriage to Mary, daughter of Conrad, had some claim to the title, ruled in his stead. Except that these monarchs bestowed fiefships and countships of territory which mostly they did not own, and joined somewhat purposelessly in the wars, they contributed nothing to Palestinian history.

In 1195, at the expiration of Richard's truce with Saladin,

Pope Innocent III. preached the Fourth Crusade. While Capetian and Plantagenet fought out their differences, Henry VI., Emperor of Germany, with the Dukes of Brabant and Saxony, in 1195 took the Cross; but their army of forty thousand men, which went by sea, did not reach Acre till September, 1197. The Germans landed without opposition and marched across the country and attacked Nablus, where El Adil defeated them. The Sultan thereafter proceeded to Jaffa, where the garrison, under Renaud Barlais, was caught in ambush, and the Muslims, making themselves masters of the city, put twenty thousand of the inhabitants to the sword and razed the walls.

The Saxon contingent, arriving somewhat later than the Germans, found Jaffa dismantled, and Beirut in the hands of the Muslims. El Adil went in pursuit of the enemy, but was defeated and wounded in a battle fought north of Tyre. The Christians were thus able once more to take possession of Sidon, but found it, in 1197, desolate. They stabled their horses in mansions wainscoted with cedar of Lebanon, and used the same precious wood for kindling and cooking.¹

Latakia and Beirut became theirs, as well as Gebal. Conrad, Bishop of Hildesheim and Chancellor of the Empire, laid siege to the castle of Toron, but panic seized his troops, or as is alleged, the Templars betrayed their fellow Christians to the Saracens. The Germans, who were giving thought to permanent settlement, in the meantime fortified Jaffa, but quarreling with the Franks, and learning of their emperor's death, sailed for Europe, leaving only a small garrison in Jaffa. These troops, while indulging in an orgy, were surprised by the Muslims in November, 1198, and massacred.

The Fourth Crusade ended in a three years' truce between the Franks and El Adil. Jerusalem was in the undisputed possession of the Muslims, but the Christians were given access to the Holy Places. The city began to recuperate economically, and in 1200 the governor, Izz ad din 'Othman ibn 'Ali Az Zanjili—the name betrays royal lineage—built the Dome of the Ascension in the Haram Area.

Under Innocent III., the Fifth Crusade was preached, but

it is not entitled to enter this category, for it never reached Palestine. Yet the incident merits notice. Two French counts with twenty-five hundred men proceeded to Venice, to take ship for Palestine. Having no funds they were induced by the wily Venetians to pay for their passage by aiding in the seizure of Mediterranean ports. In this wise, after the capture of Zara, in Dalmatia, they were induced by the Venetians to join them in an attack on Greek-Christian Constantinople. On April 10, 1204, the city was captured, and Baldwin of Flanders became the first Latin king of the Byzantine empire. The Pope, who gave the adventurers absolution for their attack on Zara, was not averse to an adventure that promised Latin ascendancy in the heart of the Greek schism.

Earthquakes had in the interval convulsed Palestine and Syria. In 1201, Hamath, Baalbec, Damascus and Nablus were practically thrown down. In Tyre the tremors lasted nearly a month, from May 7th to June 4th.² The quakes recurred in 1203, and again in 1204. Tyre, this noble city, with "gardens moche delectable," as an old writer put it, and which "surpassed in beauty almost all the cities of Phœnicia," was laid in ruins. The walls of Acre and Tripoli also fell during the earthquake of 1201, which was followed by a severe pestilence originating in Egypt. There was serious famine, and some of the old baronial families began to emigrate from Palestine. These disturbances, however, did not prevent the members of Saladin's family fighting one another for the possession of Damascus and for the control of the empire—a struggle that continued for twenty years.

Some of the Franks who composed the Fifth Crusade reached Egypt and proceeded to massacre the inhabitants of Rosetta. El Adil made peace with them, and transferred Jaffa to the Christians. Discouraged by the lack of military support, Innocent III., who instituted the Inquisition, and who sought a world-wide Christian empire, began to negotiate with the infidels. The Muslims were ready to compromise with the Christians. They offered to make Jerusalem a Christian province, tributary, however, to the Sultan. Innocent, who countenanced the horrifying Children's Crusade, which ended either in the

friendly waves or in the slave marts of Alexandria, was too intolerant towards every heresy—to him a species of rebellion—to accept such a peace. He attained the culminating point of the power of Rome in the West, but he needed the aid of the schismatics of the East, who had never lent themselves to the Crusades, though they occasionally profited from them, to gain ascendancy in the East, and therefore could not be satisfied with mere freedom in Palestine.

What the Pope could not accomplish by dogma, John of Brienne, third shadow king of Jerusalem, attempted by marriage. Left a widower, he married, in 1204, a daughter of the King of Armenia, whose kingdom, however, at this juncture was as much a figment of the imagination as that of Jerusalem. The Bagratidæ dynasty had been overwhelmed by the Greeks, the Kurds and the Turks. But the matrimonial combination, no doubt, sounded well to uninformed European ears, and raised hopes that were never realized.

Innocent's active persecution of the Jews and his instigation of the massacre of the Albigenses resulted in three hundred rabbis from France and from the south of England emigrating to Jerusalem. The poet Jehudah Halevi had stirred their yearning for the Holy Land.³ They sent an advance guard in 1210. As they passed through Egypt in 1211, Sultan el 'Aziz gave the rabbis a cordial reception. At Hebron they were met by the Exilarch, or Prince of the Captivity, David of Mosul, who was functioning in the East.⁴ They entered the Cave of Machpelah, viewed the tombs of the Patriarchs, and one of them wrote an accurate description of the interior of the Cave. The leaders of this rabbinic settlement were Jonathan ben David ha-Cohen of Lunel, Saadiah, Tobias, Samuel ben Simeon, and Joseph ben Baruch. They built houses of prayer in Jerusalem, and their presence in the city is referred to by Al Harizi, the Spanish Hebrew poet, who wrote a poetic narrative of his travel experiences.⁵ Al Harizi, who was in Jerusalem in 1217, mentions that a great number of Jewish pilgrims were flocking to the city.⁶

The Sixth Crusade was organized. This time the Hungarians, who were nominally converted to Christianity about the year

one thousand, took the Cross. Andrew II. (1205-1235), of the house of Arpad, organized an army for a Crusade, and thus postponed a fight with his barons, who claimed greater authority than was theirs. Andrew apparently first led his army into Prussia, and fought the native pagans there. In 1217 the Hungarians landed in Acre, and marched to Gilboa. They descended to the Jordan, singing hymns, taking prisoners, and plundering towns en route. Then they bathed in the Lake of Tiberias.

The inter-Muslim struggle was so intense that these Hungarians met with no opposition until, by attempting to storm Mount Tabor, they encroached upon a Saracen fighting preserve. The Hungarians were not successful, and returned to the coast. A great storm having destroyed their camp, the soldiers took shelter in Acre. Having secured some precious relics, King Andrew forsook crusading and returned to Europe.

Two other princes, however, stayed behind and conceived the idea of capturing Palestine, which was practically defenseless at the time, by an invasion of Egypt. The Duke of Austria and the King of Cyprus evolved this plan. To accomplish it they actually embarked troops at Acre, took them to the Egyptian coast, and spent two futile years in besieging Damietta. Few military struggles have been as ludicrous as this particular adventure. After two years of hammer and tong fighting, Damietta fell. The Christian victors then blithely proceeded on a march to Cairo, and with all their men were caught in the inundation of the Nile, in 1221. Sultan el 'Aziz was dead, and had been succeeded as lord of Egypt by one of his twelve sons, Kamil Mohammad, while another son, Mu'azzam, became the ruler of Damascus. Kamil was at war with the Turks and treated the Christian offensive at Damietta as a local struggle until the Christians began their pretentious march to Cairo. Then he opened the sluices of the Nile,⁷ and the enemy was caught in its surging muddy waters. Kamil, who was one of the most tolerant and enlightened members of the Eyub dynasty, relieved the distress of the Christians by sending them bread—30,000 loaves a day—and so prevented them starving while they made good their retreat.

Jalal Aldin relates, as a curious incident, that at the peace meeting with the Franks, two of Kamil's brothers were present. Their middle names being respectively, Jesus and Moses, and the Sultan's name Mohammad, the three contending faiths at last were said to have joined forces.

Kamil, though he waged some minor wars, was essentially a man of peace, and declined to engage in the usual fratricidal struggles with his relatives. He took the same attitude towards the Christians. St. Francis of Assisi came to Cairo and preached a sermon to the Sultan, urging the monarch's conversion to Christianity. Kamil listened courteously and sent the great preacher home, under safe conduct. His brother, Mu'azzam, as lord of Damascus, dismantled the castles of Tibnin and Sinai, and Banias, and then, fearing that the existence of the walls of Jerusalem might provoke renewed attacks by the Franks, in 1220 dismantled the fortifications of the Holy City, and removed the larger part of the inhabitants to Damascus.* On Mu'azzam's death, Kamil became virtual lord of Damascus, though there was a titular sultan, and thus had the disposition of Palestine. Therefore, before the inglorious attack on Damietta, he offered not only to restore Jerusalem to the Christians, but to release all prisoners and to contribute to the rebuilding of the walls. But the Papal legate, Cardinal Pelagius, was not satisfied with these terms and insisted on the storming of Damietta, because the Egyptians refused to pay three hundred thousand dinars as recompense for the demolition of Jerusalem's walls. This intransigence resulted in the prelate becoming a prisoner and a hostage. Thus ended the Sixth Crusade.

II

One man in Europe understood and appreciated El Kamil and his offer to solve the Christian-Palestine issue. He was Frederick II., of Germany, the son of Constance of Sicily and Henry VI., King of the Two Sicilies, and grandson of the Red Beard. His Sicilian background, more than his Swabian origin, qualified him for the unique, if brief, part he played in Palestinian affairs. Sicily, from the day Robert of Normandy be-

came its king, was as Arabic as it was Italian; as Norman and Greek as it was Muslim and Christian. Robert, whose wife was of the Jewish papal family of Pierleoni, in 1130 withheld support of the Crusades, and his successors steered clear of the imbroglio. As King of the Two Sicilies, Frederick II. inherited therefore a policy of friendliness to the Muslims. Moreover, though to the church he was "a man given up to wickedness of every kind,"⁹ he was the first cultured monarch in Europe, and a sceptic to boot. Poet, musician, artist, patron of all the arts, he welcomed at his court astrologers from Baghdad, with long beards and flowing robes, Jews who received princely salaries for translating Arabic works, Saracen dancers and dancing girls, and Moors who blew silver trumpets on festal occasions.¹⁰ He was, of course, as licentious as other monarchs of his age. Gerold complained to the Pope that Frederick in Palestine had "*cantatrices, saltatrices, jocolatores, persones . . . infames*,"¹¹ but this would not have been a grievance had he been loyal and obedient to the Church.

Frederick founded the University of Naples, and encouraged the medical school of Salerno. He even assembled all the wise men in his realm, to devise a code which would suit the needs of the diverse races that inhabited his empire, from the Baltic to the Mediterranean. In the eyes of the Church, however, he had numerous and glaring faults. He treated its ordinances with contempt, wrote bitter attacks on the clergy to his fellow monarchs, and following the paths of his own ambitions, "wished to reduce the papacy to the rank of a mere archiepiscopal dignity." To these heresies, he added a refusal to fulfill the pledge his mother had made at his coronation in 1212, to hurry to Palestine. He was busy consolidating his unwieldy empire.

For these and other reasons, Honorius III., a peace-seeking pope, and Gregory IX., a virile and forceful ecclesiastic, both in turn excommunicated him. In 1226, Frederick announced that he was prepared to start for Palestine. The Crusade was preached, and forty thousand Englishmen gathered at Brindisi, to follow his flag. Pestilence broke out, and the thoughtful monarch demobilized his troops and took a short trip up the Mediterranean. Gregory IX., exasperated by this royal flout-

ing of his authority, renewed the writ of excommunication against the Emperor, who replied to it by chasing the Pope out of Rome.

Frederick, on the death of his first wife, Constance, married Yolande, the daughter of John of Brienne, and, therefore, in her name had a claim to the Crown of Jerusalem. He, however, ill-treated Yolande, who died, and flouted his father-in-law. To add to the grievances of the Church he, in 1226, began to negotiate with El Kamil, Sultan of Egypt, and with El Mu'azzam, Sultan of Damascus, for the cession of Jerusalem to himself. The Sultan of Damascus, who was engaged in a bitter quarrel with his brother Sultan of Egypt,¹² opposed Frederick's proposals, but he died in 1227. This simplified the German overtures.

El Kamil was far more responsive, but his rights to Jerusalem are somewhat doubtful. On Mu'azzam's death his throne was occupied by his twelve-year-old son, El Nasir David, who asked for peace from his uncle. He received as an answer the request that he evacuate Schaubak. This overture being rejected, El Kamil proceeded to Palestine, and occupied Jerusalem and other places without opposition. The boy Sultan called to his aid El Ashraf, monarch of western Syria, already faced with the incursion of Kharezmian skirmishers. The two monarchs hurried to Nablus, where El Kamil was in camp, but the latter left for Cairo, and only returned to Gaza when he knew his brother was ready to make peace. Between them they divided the territory of Palestine and Syria, the former getting Palestine, while to the young nephew they gave Harran, Edessa and Er Rakka. This pact was concluded in November, 1228.¹³ There is agreement among the Arab historians that El Kamil was afraid of war, and did not feel strong enough to oppose the forces it was reported Frederick could muster for another crusade. At any rate he met Frederick's overtures in a friendly spirit. He responded through an ambassador, Fakhr ed Din, a former teacher of the Emperor, and an old friend. The ambassador brought with him substantial presents, and a troupe of dancing girls.*

This negotiation included an exchange of letters between the

* Twenty entries in the "Regesta" relate to this incident.

two monarchs on problems of philosophy and geometry, in which they were both keenly interested. The Pope visited his displeasure on Frederick by forbidding his departure for Palestine. Frederick characteristically ignored the Pope, left his army at home, and sailed for Palestine with fifty ships and six hundred knights.

He landed safely at Acre, but was boycotted by all but the Teutonic knights, whose order had been authorized in 1199, and his immediate suite. Undisturbed by this hostility he proceeded on his mission of peaceful conquest, making his camp on the Belus (Nahr Naaman). When El Kamil hesitated, Frederick sent pilgrims to Jaffa to make a military demonstration. This effort was not very successful, and the Muslims forced them to retreat after they had made some repairs.

He sent Balian, prince of Tyre, to El Kamil, who in return sent, as his ambassador, Fakhr ed Din, and presents, including another contingent of dancing girls. The mission met at a spot south of Cæsarea, and the peace terms known as the Treaty of Jaffa were agreed upon without great difficulty. The original of the treaty is missing. The paragraphs cited indicate that Frederick made the peace for his personal possession of the Kingdom, and ignored the rights of the Church. When Frederick disclosed the proposed arrangements, which were wholly advantageous to the Christians, to the heads of the Orders, they refused to agree without the consent of the Patriarch, who was under the Pope's instructions. The Emperor ignored this opposition and signed the treaty on February 20, 1229.

By the treaty, Jerusalem, which was not to be rebuilt, was to be a Christian city with the Haram Area in the possession of the Muslims. Bethlehem and all the villages from Acre to Jaffa, Nazareth, Toron, Jaffa, Cæsarea, and Sidon—practically all of the kingdom ruled in the name of Baldwin IV.—was ceded to the Christians. This, the best practical peace made in the interests of the Christians since the days of Heraclius, proved to be the most unacceptable page in Palestine's history.

The simple soldiers rejoiced at Frederick's victory. But "the surrender of Jerusalem on such terms was regarded with as little favor by the Christians as by the Muslims; the sacri-

religious compromise was severely visited on the Emperor, already excommunicated by the Pope; the Holy City was laid under interdict by the Patriarch, and though the Church of the Sepulchre and other sacred places were purified and reconciled, yet no religious services were performed in them during the Emperor's continuance in the city, but the populace was illuminated in his honor."¹⁴ The Muslims frowned on the arrangement, and attributed the treaty to the aid they allege Frederick gave to El Kamil in his struggle with his nephew, the monarch in Damascus. Gerold, the Pope's Legate, fanned the Muslim flame by asking El Nasir to countersign the compact. This was of course refused, and Syrian Muslims expressed their anger at El Kamil's betrayal of Islamic interest. This was one of the reasons Gerold assigned for putting Jerusalem under the ban. Some of the Church party offered to support Frederick, but he treated them with disdain, and left Jerusalem hurriedly, an army of pilgrims following him to Jaffa.¹⁵

"Attended only by his trusty barons, and the Teutonic knights, Frederick entered the Church, took the crown with his own hand from the altar, placed it on his head, and was proclaimed King of Jerusalem, without any religious ceremony. He had become an object of loathing and abhorrence to all orders and degrees of Christians; and the knights of the Temple and Hospital were not ashamed to instigate the infidels to destroy him on his pilgrimage to the Jordan."¹⁶

The circumlocution quoted above refers to the fact that, during the preliminary negotiations, the Templars had written to El Kamil, proposing the assassination of Frederick.* El Kamil sent the missive to Frederick, who made no public comment on it. He, however, wrote a detailed account of his actions in a letter to Henry III. of England, dated Jerusalem, March 17, 1229. A better version of his entry, with his knights and soldiers, in the deserted Church of the Sepulchre, relates that he said, "I promised I would come, and I am here," and put the crown on his head, and departed. To the Pope he wrote ironically that he had taken the city by "miracle." The response

* Even much later assassination was regarded as a lawful political act, particularly against non-Christians. (Archives de l'Orient Latin, Vol. II) quotes some of the fifteenth-century assassination agreements that have been preserved.

was a bitter denunciation of the "treaty of Belial." It was, however, later ratified by the Pontiff.

The Sultan was equally denounced by the Ulemas, but they lacked the power of excommunication. Frederick had defied the Pope, and the Christian world, but temporarily gave back Jerusalem to Christianity, which rejected the gift at his hands. The Teutonic Order, however, accepted his offer of part of Galilee. On his return to Acre that city was put under the ban, for as long as Frederick remained in the city. Unruffled, he closed the gates of the city, and flogged the monks in the streets during Holy Week. Of his peaceful conquest of Palestine there remains a single flagstone, the cover of a sewer in Jaffa,¹⁷ which town he began to repair, until that task appeared an obstacle to the peace he sought.

Frederick lived through years of excommunication in Europe, was temporarily reconciled to the Pope, but was again excommunicated, and marched on Rome. His Palestinian policy failed, because, on his retirement from Palestine, he left no one in charge to continue his policy, though he sent some knights to take possession of the cities and fiefs granted him.

III

The pact between Frederick and El Kamil changed nothing. It merely marked the end of a period. Thereafter, till the battle of Acre in 1291, the Crusades, politically, spiritually and even militarily, were nothing but unimpressive shadow-graphs—often more grotesque, never more substantial. Records pile to dizzy heights; treaties, in their meticulous detail of rights, and places named, cover acres of paper and parchment. Even the attempt of the Popes to convert the East to Christianity, and thus gain a victory, fills a stout volume, but all this mass of material, which constitutes the written record of three-score years, is impressive only in its futility and impotence, and in the admixture of arrogance, pomposity, keen commercial bargaining and chicanery that characterizes it.

The ghost of unreality had marched even with the First Crusade. By the Second Crusade religious emotion had been wholly warped into superstition. Miracles carried west all those

miracle-working relics of which sacrilegious hands could not take physical possession. The fissiparous capacity of relics to multiply, astonish even the credulous and the faithful. The West was dragging what it wanted of Palestine to its homes and cities. Perhaps the interest in the Holy Sepulchre waned because it was neither movable, or divisible. The Muslims, who added a thousand myths to Jerusalem, took nothing from it. To the Slavonians a piece of the Unhewn Rock was a great treasure; to the Hungarians the arm of a saint was a valuable transportable treasure. A grotto was supposed to have crossed the world, by miracle, and holy coats were the proud possessions of European churches. This traffic in relics came to symbolize Palestine, in hundreds of places; the legacy of faith and culture, which Palestine embodied, was thus brought within domestic range.

The interest in Palestine itself, accordingly decreased. Defeat disillusioned even the adventurous. The possession of Palestine became a question of dogma and creed. The Muslim hated the sound of the Christian church bells in Jerusalem; that, and wine drinking, was pollution to them. The Christians detested the sound of the call of the Muezzin within earshot of their churches, and regarded the presence of Muslims in the city as profanation and pollution.

In 1217, "in Europe the preaching of the Crusade met with great opposition. Temporal princes were strongly averse to losing jurisdiction over their subjects, who took part in the Crusades."¹⁸ "The temporal and spiritual privileges which they [the Popes] conferred upon the Crusaders virtually made the latter their subjects."¹⁹ To this the rulers objected. They had no interest in Holy Wars which strengthened pontifical authority, nor for the opportunity it afforded the papacy of interfering in their affairs. Both sides were, moreover, exhausted by the wars, and other forces were arising to dispute power with them.

As we approach the year 1240, the great dividing line in Palestinean history, the artificiality of a propaganda which left its mark on world history—and formed the background even of the nineteenth-century attitude on the Eastern question—

makes itself apparent. Neither the church nor the mosque wanted the land, Palestine; they were both clamoring for the supremacy of a creed. Less than that, satisfied neither.

From the European Christian standpoint, the Sepulchre, the Cross and Jerusalem, had been won. The poor were still poor, and the profligate unpunished. The Sepulchre, the Cross, and Jerusalem were lost. The world jogged on at its old pace. Ashes, sackcloth, prayers, penitence; fewer men to run away from their wives; more children dead. Every village in Europe had its houses of mourning. Neither millennium nor ultimate catastrophe.

A great wave of scepticism passed over Europe. Burning eloquence was wasted; the support of the tax power was required to raise further sums for Crusading adventures; these taxes did not always go eastward.

The rodомontade of Jalal Aldin, in its worshipfulness of the Sacra and Jerusalem, impresses in its adoration, after the lapse of centuries, but in the record of the Arab chroniclers Palestine becomes a football of internecine strife. The possession of the land is less an object than the exclusion of the hated and interfering Christian.

To only one group, the Mediterranean and Oriental traders, were the Crusades of lasting importance. The Crusades greatly increased and improved the trade between the west and the east. The Arabs in the eighth century had opened up Canton, and the Chinese had ventured into the Persian Gulf during the ninth century. By the thirteenth century the Chinese were in Sumatra, shipping wares, silks, porcelains, perfumes, and jewelry, westward. The two great stations on this long route were Rakkah* on the Euphrates, where Harun-al-Rashid had once established his capital, Palmyra,† a more important town than is generally assumed at this time, and Damascus, and Acre. The Muslim merchants of Mosul had their authorized headquarters in Acre, while the Italians had their trading rights in Damascus . . . the local Palestinean industries added

* Benjamin of Tudela in 1163 reports this frontier town as having seven hundred Jews. He traces a concentration of Jews in all the commercial centers from Acre to Mosul and Baghdad.

† The same traveller reported that Palmyra contained "two thousand warlike Jews, and who are at war with the Christians, and with the Arabian subjects of Nur-ed-Din, and assist their neighbors the Mohammedans."

considerably to this traffic. A catalogue of commercial terms, still current, manifests the influence of Palestine and particularly of Syria, upon world trade. Tartan, derived from Tyre, to "check"; "Damascene," figures woven in cloth, or etched on steel; cloisonné, enamel; copper-plate from which was evolved the art of copper engraving for reproduction; and numerous other industrial arts spring from western experience in the east. Exports of glass from Hebron, Acre, and Damascus are frequently mentioned in the records.

If anything, there was a surplus of oriental imports in the western markets. Edward of England appears to have had too many Circassian saddles and saddlecloths exported from Palestine. Even the novelty of camel-hair cloth wore off. The merchant groups therefore fought persistently for monopolies in Acre and elsewhere. Their quarrels became the Pope's worry, and they provided business for the Templars, who were the bankers, escorts and the guards of their property or their rights. The traders preferred agreements with Chinese, Arabs, Jews and others, to war for the sake of doctrinaire supremacy.

To the merchants, therefore, Palestine as the land bridge and manufacturing center was still of importance. Persuaded later that the defeat of the Christians in the Orient was largely due to the commercial relations of the Venetians and Genoese with the Muslims, a number of plans were drawn up to establish a commercial blockade which would, within a few years, ruin Egypt and thus bring it under Christian control. The merchants, however, successfully defied all these schemes. To the Caliph of Baghdad, who left his palace once a year, and in a gorgeous procession went as far as the banks of the Tigris³⁰ and returned, Jerusalem was probably not more than a name. El Kamil was the last of the real monarchs of Egypt. After his death confusion followed. Though the scimitar was wielded with great success, the history of the period is more a reversion to the bitter days of Hakem, and the first of the Ommayyads, than a continuance of the days of the Abbasides and Eyubs.

IV

After Frederick II. sailed home, the Crusades became no more than surface scratchings on the hard rocks of Palestine.

Though the Christians were free to reside in Jerusalem, they feared to live in the unwallled city, and sought refuge in the Tower of David. There is no evidence of persecution during the period of the truce, nor of attacks by Muslims. On the contrary, there is a suggestion of recuperation and an increase in the Christian possessions during the decade following the signing of the treaty. At its expiration, however, the Christians began to rebuild the walls, but El Kamil's successor, his son David, Emir of Kerak, came to Jerusalem, tore down the walls, and dismantled the Tower.

Gregory IX. preached yet another crusade. "The Jews became aware of the preaching . . . but the eloquence of the Dominican and Franciscan friars was vainly employed to awaken the enthusiasm of the people, whose indignation was aroused by the late discovery of the fact, that it was rather with a view of self-aggrandizement, than to the recovery of the Sepulchre, that the Pope encouraged this prodigal expenditure of blood and treasure; and his bad faith and vacillating policy created intense disgust."²¹

Thibaut V., count of Champagne, the troubadour king of Navarre, and the Duke of Normandy took the Cross, but were excommunicated. Despite the ban, these Crusaders reached Acre, but were badly beaten at Gaza, and returned home. Richard of Cornwall, brother of Henry III., of England, led an expedition into Palestine, also against the wishes of the Pope. The English prince found the land abandoned by the Muslims, and the Orders held down by treaties. He did no more than bury those who had fallen at Gaza, redeemed captives, visited Jerusalem, and renewed the treaty with the Sultan of Egypt. The Christians were in possession of Jerusalem, and the castles, to the north, had been demolished by the Sultan of Damascus. Even the mosques were held by the Christians and a pious Muslim, Kadi Jemal ed din Ibn Wasil, bewailed the low tide of Islam when he saw the Noble Rock profaned by the wine cups of the monks.²²

From his accession, in 1242, Innocent IV. attempted the conversion of the east by correspondence and embassies. By the end of the decade fictitious letters were in circulation in Europe promising the aid of "the Kings of Gog and Magog,"

in the recovery of Palestine. In 1245 Es Saleh, Sultan of Egypt, invited the Pope to become a Muslim, and in 1246 Mangu, Khan of Tartary, entered into correspondence with the Pope, while in 1247 the Tartar prince of Persia challenged the Pope to go to war.

Something more substantial, though not much, happened when the monkish Louis of France, who is accorded saint-hood, but who was an incompetent general and a weak leader of men, took the Cross. St. Louis set sail in June, 1249. With him went his Queen, Margaret, who bore him two children during their oriental experience—John Tristan and Blanche. With a host of knights, French and English, they landed at Damietta, in Egypt. Louis had more trouble with the immoralities of his followers—gambling and women—than with the Muslims. After months of fighting his army reached Mansura, but on April 5, 1245 the Egyptians routed the French; the King was a captive; and Bibars, a Mamluk general, was started on a career of glory and butchery.

The king was ransomed, and the Sultan, El Muaddem, last of the descendants of Saladin, was murdered by his own guard. Eventually Louis reached Acre, in May, 1250. Margaret has left some vivid descriptions of her horror at the depravity of the Christians in that port. The royal couple lived for some time in the gardens of Jaffa, where their daughter, Blanche, was born. They are reported to have rebuilt the town at an expense of five million dollars, which suggests depravity of another kind among their followers. In 1264, having fortified Cæsarea, Sidon and Haifa, and having visited Nazareth and other shrines, the French monarchs returned to Europe. The royal couple never went to Jerusalem, though in 1250 the Franciscans were authorized to open their convent. Their piety must have rebelled against the war in Acre itself, for in 1254 the Venetians drove the Genoese from the city. Hospitallers and Templars were opposed to one another in this strife, in which twenty thousand men perished. Once, in later years, the pious and self-righteous monarch again took the Cross, but this time his army was routed in Tunis, and its story ended there.

The last crusader was Prince Edward of England, son of

Henry III. At a synod held in Northampton on June 24, 1268, he, with some fellow knights, took the Cross, but there was apparently some difficulty in collecting cash for the adventure. Eventually he raised eight thousand silvermarks,²³ and, in 1271, arrived in Palestine with three hundred knights, five hundred Frisians, and auxiliaries—in all twelve hundred fighting men. The Templars, the Knights of John, the Teutonic knights, and five hundred Papal troops, joined him. Seven thousand men made the final aggressive effort. In June, Edward marched against Lydda, and in September his brother, Edmond, attacked Kakun. Bibars, then overlord of Palestine, was at the time fighting the Mongols. He did not hesitate to employ the "Old Man of the Mountain" against the prince, but Edward escaped assassination. His wife, Eleanor of Castile, marched with him to the battle of Nazareth, "a predatory attack . . . attended with circumstances of more than usual barbarity was the only fruit of this expedition." The Christians were angling for the support of the Mongols. But when both sides had become sufficiently doubtful of the policy of the Tartars, Edward concluded with Bibars, on April 22, 1272, the peace of Cæsarea, for ten years, ten months, ten days and ten hours.²⁴

The Christians immediately made pilgrimages en masse to Nazareth and Bethlehem. Very few however visited Jerusalem, for it was still under the ban.

The Crusades were over. In 1274, Gregory X. convened a council at Lyons, France, at which the Patriarch of Jerusalem and a thousand archbishops and bishops were present. This great conclave ordered a tithe to cover the period of the truce. Michael Palaeologus, the Greek emperor, was asked to unite with the Latins, but Gregory X. was dead before anything serious happened. Sir Joseph de Cancy, an Englishman, who spent thirty-two years in Palestine as Treasurer of the Hospitallers of St. John, correctly reported the situation on May 31, 1281, to Edward of England: "The Holy Land was never as easy of conquest as now, with able generals and store of food."²⁵ The answer, in substance, was, "Come home."

The Crusade was abandoned, and the Christian cause in

Palestine irrevocably lost. During centuries we meet the Pope's arm only once in Palestinean history, and that just before the final expulsion of the Latins from Palestine.

"The misfortunes of war, according to Nicholas IV., the first Franciscan pope, gave opportunity for the growth of heresy and Judaism. Therefore, in 1290, he granted full powers to his legate, Nicholas, Patriarch of Jerusalem, to appoint inquisitors with the advice of the Mendicant provincials. This was accordingly done, but the fatherly care of Nicholas was a trifle tardy. The capture of Acre, May, 1291, drove the Christians finally from the Holy Land, and the career of the Syrian Inquisition was therefore of the briefest. It was revived however, in 1375, by Gregory XI., who empowered the Franciscan provincial in the Holy Land to act as inquisitor in Palestine, Syria, and Egypt to check the too prevalent apostasy of the Christian pilgrims who continued to flock to those regions."²⁶

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CHAPTER XIV

THE FALL OF ACRE—1240 TO 1291

ACTIVE king of the Tartars at thirteen years of age, Temujin, by his military prowess and bold leadership of the horde that dwelt between the Amur and the Great Wall of China, was at fifty, in 1206, proclaimed Genghis, or greatest of the Khans, and by this title he is known in history. He had conquered great stretches of territory, invaded and mastered China; then he turned west, and attacked Ala-ed-Din Mohammad, Sultan of Kharezim, whose lands bordered on Syria. By this act, in which Samarcand and Bokhara, and its great library, were destroyed, a wild horde from Khiva were forced to serve as the advance guard of the locust-like hosts from the further steppes. Eyub, Sultan of Egypt, was at war with Ismail, Sultan of Damascus, when the Kharezmians, driven west in 1236 by the victories of the "king of kings and lord of the earth," entered Syria. In 1228 the Sultan of Damascus first invited these freebooters to aid him in his quarrel with Egypt. The Franks encouraged them. In 1243 the Egyptian sultan made terms with the Kharezmians, and drew them into an alliance with himself against Damascus, whereupon the Damascus Sultan ceded Galilee to the Christians, on condition that they support his side of the struggle.¹

Leading twenty thousand wild Kharezmian horsemen, Barka-khan, in 1244, swept through Baalbec, Damascus, and Tripoli, and bore down on Galilee, slaying Muslims and Christians, and, after preying on the country, rushed to Jerusalem. Christians, Templars, Hospitallers, men, women and children, fled before this horde from ancient Scythia. Only the sick and the infirm were left in the city, and these the barbarians killed in their beds. Then the Kharezmians, ringing the church bells, lured the population back. Six thousand entered the ambush pre-

pared, and were all killed. Some hundreds who had reached the pass to Ramleh were caught, and cut to pieces. Then the furious barbarians burst open the tombs of the Latin kings and burned the coffins of Godfrey and Baldwin, and all relics that could be added to the pyre. Priests were beheaded before their altars; others were disembowelled before the Sepulchre. In their mad lust, the Kharezmians even tore down the marble panels and columns of the Church. Satiated, the horde moved south.

The common danger led to a coalescence of all forces. The Templars accepted the leadership of Al Mansur, Emir of Morocco; the Saracen princes of Syria, and of the Hauran, joined in the common defense. The Kharezmians, supported by their Egyptian allies, gave battle at Gaza on October 17, 1244. The sanguinary struggle lasted two days. The Christians, with the Holy Cross, occupied the center; the Saracens held the right wing. The slaughter was prodigious. Thirty thousand of the Palestinian allies were left dead on the field. Of the Christians, sixty knights of the three Orders, the Prince of Tyre, and the Patriarch of Jerusalem escaped. The rest were dead or prisoners.

The horde then moved to Jaffa with Walter of Brienne, lord of the port town, their prisoner. He was tied to a cross, and threatened with crucifixion if he did not order Jaffa to surrender. He was brave enough to encourage Jaffa to hold out—which it did. Walter was taken to Cairo, where he was killed.

In the meantime, the Egyptians had over-run Palestine, and in their turn occupied Jerusalem and Tiberias, while their Kharezmian allies plundered the valley of the Jordan, and the coastal towns. Palestine thus reverted to Egypt; Jerusalem never afterwards was a Christian city. In Cairo the Kharezmians pressed for the fulfillment of their bargain. Having defeated both the Sultan and the Christians, they claimed Palestine. The wily monarch, instead of meeting his obligation, offered them a new task, the sacking of Damascus. This being wholly to their liking, they hastened north, burning and pillaging the famous city. By a new alliance between the Sultan and the Muslims of Aleppo, the southward return march of the

horde was stayed. Ten bloody pitched battles were fought, until the decimated ranks of the barbarians finally dispersed. The Kharezmians fled, and thereafter are for all time lost among the peoples of Asia Minor; but their work of destruction remained fairly permanent.

Theoretically, Palestine was now divided between the Christians in the coastal towns, and the Muslims in Judea, Samaria, the Negeb, and Trans-Jordan. Galilee was occupied by both elements. Nejmed-Din of Egypt was overlord of Jerusalem; but the glory had departed from the land. Its cities had been laid waste; its lands burnt over; its trees cut down; and the bravest of all elements in the population had been killed. Such was the fury of the Kharezmian invasion that the phrase of Joinville, the biographer of the sainted Louis, employed in 1254, "a pestilent land," well describes the result of the havoc wrought by the horde and the Egyptians.

A woman, the only one to occupy an Islamic throne, was the immediate successor of El Muaddem, second Bahrite sultan, the monarch slain in the presence of the French King Louis, in 1249. She was the widow of Sahil Eyub, and for eight months she reigned alone. Queen Sheger-ed durr—there is no such word as Sultana—described herself as "former slave of Musta'sim, queen of the Muslims, mother of Mansur Khalil," who died at six years of age. It was by virtue of her motherhood, and not her widowhood, that she attained office. She helped King Louis make good his departure from Egypt, but to the Baghdad Caliph the rule of his former slave was not acceptable. The Palestinian population, with the aid of the Syrians, began to rebel.

The Queen therefore took as consort Izz-ed-din Aybek, with the title Mu'izz. He with the aid of a general, named Atkir, proceeded to Palestine to put down the rebels who had possession of Gaza. This insurrection lasted to 1253, when by treaty Palestine, west of the Jordan, and including Jerusalem and the coast, was ceded to Egypt. But the overlordship thus granted was largely theoretical, for the emirs were constantly insubordinate, and Aybek spent practically three years in camp quelling revolts in Palestine and in fighting El Nasir, of

Damascus. The struggle spread from Gaza to Trans-Jordan. Aybek was victorious, and was then tempted for political reasons to take a new wife. Whereupon the enterprising Queen Sheger, learning of her husband's intention to divorce her, in 1257 slew him. Her crime was discovered and she suffered the fate of Jezebel, with some Egyptian additions. She was first beaten to death by the wooden clogs of her female slaves, and then her body was thrown to the dogs.^{*}

Aybek's son, Al Mansur Ali, took the throne, with the murderer, Kutuz, as regent. After a brief interval the youngster was deposed, and the thoroughly resolute Kutuz reigned in his own right. A bold sovereign was badly needed. In 1260, Hulago, grandson of Genghis Khan, with the vanguard of the Tartars, had captured all of Syria, and pushed on to Gaza. From there he sent an embassy to Kutuz, who expressed his contempt for Mongols by executing the ambassadors, and ordering Bibars to oust the Tartars from Gaza.

In their culture the Tartars were immensely superior to the Kharezmians, whom they had driven before them. They were as bloodthirsty as the first horde, but fairly informed of western culture. Missionaries had been among them, and the Roman Church long hugged to itself the illusion that it could convert them. But they were more familiar with the Eastern Christians, and one of their monarchs had a Jewish vizir.* But the sword was their law. In 1255 Hulago invaded Persia, crossed it successfully, besieged Baghdad, and killed El Musta'sim, last of the Abbaside caliphs. That office, except for the shadow caliphate invented by the Mamluks, ceased for two and a half centuries, until it was revived by the Othmans in Constantinople.

A million human beings were slaughtered in the siege and sack of Baghdad. The Pope was still sending messages to the Mongols, and the merchant groups in Palestine were still fighting among themselves when the Mongol horde came westward. The three military Orders, however, united their forces to withstand the enemy, whom they feared more because even their

* Makrizi names Saad-ed Daulah, as holding that office to Algoun, son of 'Agaba, in Karkar, west of the Euphrates, p. 61.

women were expert archers. Hulago advanced upon Aleppo, Tripoli, and Damascus. He reduced the last city to ashes.³ By some of the Palestineans the coming of the horde was regarded as a fulfillment of another apocalyptic vision, the arrival of the last enemy from the north. Sidon was attacked by the Tartar chief, Ketboga, and Acre was surrounded. The inhabitants of Jerusalem fled, and the city was sacked. Like a devouring flame the horde crossed the Jordan, and its brutalities and destruction there were so great that some Arab tribes in the area, until the World War, calculated events from the days of the Tartar invasion. Then the horde swept on again towards the borders of Egypt.

Bibars, the Arbalester, tall, dark-skinned, blue-eyed, distinguished-looking, who had defeated the Christians under St. Louis in the campaign in Egypt, still representing the usurper Kutuz, faced the Tartars in 1260 at Ain Jalud (Goliath's spring), a small town between Nablus and Beisan, and driving them back, fought another pitched battle with them in September, 1260, in the Plain of Esdrælon. Bibars was again victorious, and pursuing the enemy entered the desolate city of Damascus in triumph. The Tartars fled to the north; their presence in Lower Armenia, and their incursions into Syria, occupied the rulers of Egypt for many a decade.

II

Returning to Egypt, Bibars, who had been promised but did not receive the governorship of Aleppo, stabbed Kutuz to death during a hunting trip, and assumed the title of Sultan in 1260. He was unquestionably one of the ablest and most resourceful soldiers of his age, but he was as cruel as he was capable, and a sworn enemy of the Christians, whom he determined to drive out of his kingdom. He taunted Bohemund of Tripoli in bitter sarcastic terms for his responsibility for the Tartar ravages: "Hast thou but seen thy churches demolished, thy crosses sawn asunder, thy garbled gospels hawked about before the sun . . . the monk, the priest, the deacon slaughtered on the altar." Bohemund VI., prince of Antioch and Tripoli, supported the Ilkhans of Persia, part of that horde which Bibars was check-

ing with great valor. His personal vanity is attested by the carving of his name in many of the castles he captured in Palestine. At a distance—for he lacked all the virtues—he had the ambition of Saladin, and still stands out as the real founder of the Mamluk dynasties, and the most resolute organizer in Egyptian records.

He began his systematic attack on the Christians in Palestine in 1262. Capturing Nazareth in 1263, he demolished the churches, and this destructiveness of Christian possessions was characteristic of the relentless war he waged against them. Nain and neighboring villages were reduced to dust when he seized the fortress on Tabor and demolished it. The Christians of Cæsarea actually appealed to the Tartars for aid against Bibars, but he took the city in 1265, before the Mongols could arrive there. He attacked Athlit and Haifa, the inhabitants of which escaped on ships in the roadstead. The siege of Arsuf lasted forty days, Bibars personally engaging in combat. When the fortress fell, much money was found among the loot, which Bibars turned over to his soldiers. All the fortifications captured were completely demolished. In June, 1266, he surrounded Safed, a great Templar stronghold completely rebuilt in 1260 under the direction of Benedict, bishop of Marseilles.⁴ After a siege of a month, the garrison capitulated. As the soldiers marched out, two thousand were slaughtered, and the prior of the Templars and two Franciscan monks were flayed alive.⁵ Bibars, however, rebuilt the fortress and settled the town with Arabs he had brought from Damascus to reconstruct the fortification. In 1267 he took over the treaty the Franks had made with the Assassins, assigned the tribute they paid the Franks to himself, and between 1270 and 1273, destroyed their fortress and strongholds one by one, and so ended the power for mischief of the "Old Man of the Mountain." In 1268 he exerted his fury against Jaffa, took it, expelled the population, razed the walls, pulled down the public buildings and the churches, and shipped the marble he thus acquired to Cairo, where he built the magnificent mosque that still bears his name.⁶

By May of the same year he was in possession of Antioch,

where seventeen thousand Christians were slain, and the remainder of the inhabitants sold into slavery. The Palestinian churches were in ruins, and the country a waste. To the Christians there was left only Acre.

Meanwhile, for the glory of the Muslims, this one-eyed slave leader of Islam invited an exiled representative of the extinguished Abbaside Caliphate to reign in Cairo. There, with regal pomp, the pontiff of Islam was installed, and El Mustansir was made first of a long line of shadow caliphs, to whom the Mamluks, from Bibars onward, gave occasional lip service. His great army controlled with the utmost discipline, almost the only Mamluk sovereign who held absolute control of men, his spare time given over to polo playing, brave and restless, his conquests prompted the French king to make his ill fated expedition to Tunis.

In 1266 and in 1269, Bibars visited Jerusalem and Hebron, and his presence in the Holy City is associated with the erection of the shrine to Moses at Nebi Musa, which is annually the scene of a fanatic pilgrimage. He may not have invented that festival but he certainly popularized it.⁷ Between 1271 and 1277 he constantly fought the Christians in Syria, made a truce with them while he fought the Tartars in Lower Armenia, and conducted a war in Nubia. His scimitar knew no rest, and he brandished it, almost always, with success. His reputation for personal bravery and ability was besmirched by his cruelty and tyranny; few regretted his death in Damascus in 1277, by which date he had acquired great wealth from the tribute he had squeezed out of his victims. A natural phenomenon which occurred during his reign and which was regarded as symbolic of its disturbed condition was that, in 1267, the Jordan ceased flowing for a season.⁸

Of Bibars' three sons, es Sa'id, whose mother was a Tartar princess, a member of the Golden Horde, was made king, reigned for a hundred days, and then was sent to Kerak, where he died a few years later. Then, another son of Bibars, El Adil, was for a little while monarch. A regency was unthinkable at this juncture, and one of the elder Mamluks was made sultan.

Sold as a lad for a thousand pieces of gold,⁹ the next Mamluk to become sultan was Kelaoun. His reign started auspiciously. He annulled the special tax the Christians had been forced to pay during the preceding eighteen years; and for the Jews Kelaoun appointed Mouhad-dhab-ibn Hassan, a doctor of medicine, *chef des juifs* of all sects, rabbanites, Karaites and Samaritans.¹⁰ By speeding up the delivery of the royal mail between Egypt and Damascus he brought the whole of his kingdom under his personal supervision. He had considerable difficulties with his local governors, and was at all times fearful of their conspiracies. Frequent rebellions led him to improve the mail service which had been first organized in Baghdad in the eighth century.

His predecessor, Bibars, had done considerable in this direction. The court records are full of the arrival of the mail, by horse relays, and by the use of pigeons. Twenty thousand dirhems and three thousand ardels of grain were set aside annually for the *berid*, or mail. The relay posts are all associated either with towns, or with wells. On the Palestinean frontier the first route ran from El Arish to the wells of Kharroubeh, Zakah, Rafah, Salkah and Gaza. From Gaza to Kerak, which became the most important post in the kingdom, the route ran by the wells of Balakis, Hebron, Djenha, Zouwau, Safiah, Khefar; from Kerak to Schaubak there were three relays. The Gaza-Damascus route covered Tibnin, the wells of Beit-Divas, Lydda, Audja, Tireh, Kakun, Fahmeh, Jenin, Hattin, Zerin, Ain Djalout, Beisan, Irbid, Tajas, Ras-alma, Sanamein, Ghabaghil, Kiswan, to Damascus. The Damascus-Safed route ran through Bouraidj, Kalous, Orainbek, Noram, the Wells of Joseph, to Safed. The direct Trans-Jordan route from Damascus to Kerak went by Katibah, and the wells of Budiah, Bourdjabiad, Kanbas, Debar, Mondjab, Safar, to Kerak.¹¹ The monarchs protected themselves in this correspondence by the kind of paper they used—for extraordinary purposes they used paper of Baghdad, and even wrote in gold ink—and by the special paper used for sending messages by pigeon post.

In 1279 Kelaoun took the first offensive in the struggle against the Christians, by sending Bedr-eddin to capture Mont-

real (Schaubak), which capitulated. Bedr-eddin was then made governor of Safed, and aided Afram of Kerak in defeating a rebellion started by Sonkor Aschkar, who gave the monarch much trouble throughout his reign, and with whom he had, eventually, to sign a peace. Gaza and Ramleh were the scene of this rising. Afram won and took much booty, in silver coin, horses and precious baggage.¹²

Sonkor fled to Damascus which, however, was speedily taken by the Egyptians. In 1280 the Tartars were again making an incursion into Syria. They came in three corps, two of which were led by grandsons of Hulago, Baidon and Mangu. Panic reigned in Aleppo, and its inhabitants fled to Damascus. The Tartars captured the city, and in a few days, after committing frightful ravages, burning up everything that would yield to flames, they retreated with the booty. Mangu, however, returned with twenty thousand Mongols, thirty thousand Georgians, Greeks, and some Armenians and Franks. Kelaoun rode out from Damascus at the head of fifty thousand horses, and gave battle at Emesa (Hims) near the monument of Khalid al Walid. The opposing wings separated, and a double battle was fought. The Tartar left threw itself on the Muslim right and was repulsed. The Tartar right routed the Muslim left. The Tartars took Hims, with frightful slaughter, and pursued the Egyptians, who fled to Safed. Some of the fugitives were pursued as far as Gaza. But the Tartar left was vanquished, Mangu wounded, and the Egyptians pursued the enemy to the banks of the Euphrates, acting with the same vindictive cruelty to their captives as was practiced on Mamluks by the Tartars.¹³

Palestine was spared the brunt of this invasion, but great consternation prevailed throughout the country until the victory of Kelaoun was certain. Nablus was pillaged by the Bedouins, and the sultan found it necessary to reorganize the administration of Lydda, Ramleh, Hebron and Gaza. While Kelaoun taxed Palestine, which was suffering from drought, famine and pestilence, for the war, the Turks began to harass Armenia. Kelaoun forced Lower Armenia to sue for peace, and then, under the stress of the Mongolian invasion, made a truce,

in April, 1282, with the Templars, by which they surrendered to Egypt all of their Syrian possessions, including the thirty-seven cantons once ruled by the "Old Man of the Mountain," and agreed to build no fortifications.

A similar treaty, covering Palestine, was signed on June 3, 1282, to last ten years, ten months, and ten days. It left the Christians in possession of Acre, Sidon, and the castle known as Château Pèlerin, with seventy-three "cantons" around Acre, Haifa and Carmel, and fifteen near Sidon. Jerusalem and the Sepulchre had evidently ceased to be important, for the treaty grants to the Christians free access to Nazareth, where they were to have six houses for priests and pilgrims. From Makrizi's chronicle it appears that the right of visiting the Holy City was jealously limited, for in 1281, the king of the Georgians was denied the right to make the pilgrimage.

With Margaret, princess of Tyre, Kelaoun made a separate treaty on Tammuz 18, 1285. (All the treaties of this period count the non-Muslim era from Philip the Greek.) The treaty of Tyre makes special mention of the rose gardens around the city, and Margaret's interest in the cultivated fields of the Aujah. Thus in the last decade of Latin power in Palestine the Christians still controlled a strip, about eight miles wide, along the coast, from Arsuf to Tripoli.

But their internal dissensions continued. In 1286 the inhabitants of Acre expelled the seneschal, Charles of Anjou, and called to their aid Henry II., King of Cyprus, who came, but deserted them in the great emergency. A quarrel between the reigning members of the princely family of Tripoli, in 1289, brought Kelaoun to its walls. He razed the forts, killed seven thousand persons, and led the women and children into slavery.

During 1285 there was some fighting in the Sahil, the province of Acre, but what was of greater importance to all the inhabitants of Palestine, who were appealing to Europe for food, was the great drought. The whole of the east suffered from storms and drought, and the prices of food doubled. Despite the great scarcity Kelaoun by forcible measures succeeded in bringing the prices down to normal.¹⁴ But that did not prevent widespread starvation, and thousands of deaths occurred from

Alexandria to Damascus. During the distress the population of Jerusalem, Christian and Muslim, was put to work repairing the city, the sultan paying for an addition to the Haram area, to which he made further additions in 1290.

The Christian population and the Pope and the Patriarch were at this period, the last stage of the kingdom, at loggerheads. The Palestineans sought peace, the Patriarch wanted war. Foreseeing disaster, the inhabitants sold their lands, and began withdrawing from the country. Some of the largest land transactions were actually concluded within two years of the expulsion of the Franks. The Templars, who to the last were hopeful of some settlement, and anxious as always to strengthen their position, were the buyers, and were threatened, for this and other reasons, with excommunication. A typhoon, accompanied by big hail, in 1286, added to the misery of the country.

III

The end, foreseen in much correspondence, came abruptly. A Christian woman was surprised with her Saracen lover in a garden in Acre. A general massacre of the Muslims followed. The treaty was still in force, and Kelaoun, who owed Acre a grudge for a conspiracy hatched against himself between Muslims and Christians in 1280, regarded the massacre as a breach of the agreement. Despite the fact that the Bedouins were keeping Palestine in a state of alarm by their raids, Kelaoun ordered the Syrians to prepare machinery for a siege, and authorized a levy for war purposes. He set out from Cairo to lead his army in person, but in his seventieth year was seized with illness, and died in 1290.

His son, El Ashraf Khalil, succeeded him. The Franks appealed to the new Sultan for terms. But in March, 1291, he notified the Templars that he would avenge the massacre, and "prepared with great zeal for the conquest of Acre."¹⁸ By April 5 the Sultan was before Acre with a large army, and with all the lumber cut from the Lebanon for siege machinery.

With its palaces of the Latin kings and princes, its mansions for the Papal Legate and the representatives of the European

powers, the homes of great barons, the business quarters of the Venetians and Genoese, its garrisons of the three Orders—Acre, in its last burst of glory, was a rich, fortified city. With its great harbor, which by prodigious excavations had been brought within the city itself, Acre was more than a symbol of the Latin power. It was, at this epoch, one of the great cities of the world, where wealth abounded, and luxury was vaunted on every hand. The Crusaders made it their principal port, and as the kingdom waned it became the capital, and royal residence. On its broad streets were great magazines for the storage of wares, and huge buildings for the housing of pilgrims.

When Saladin captured it in 1187 he found great booty there, but when the Christians recovered it in 1191, they found unaccounted stores of wealth and merchandise collected in the city. During the century that followed the Latins spent all their military art on strengthening its walls and fortifications. Every corner was guarded by a tower with an iron gate and a strong chain; even the harbor could be locked by chains.

Within this fortress-port the spacious streets were overhung with silk and mottled stuffs, to ward off the sun's rays, and so shield fair ladies, who paraded in their crowns and jewels. The large houses had glass windows—then still one of the proofs of wealth; rooms were adorned with pictures; and the flat roofs of the houses were turned into delightful flower gardens.¹⁸ The one jarring note in this Acre of the thirteenth century was, as the Muslims complain, that pigs roamed its streets.

For its defense in this fatal struggle, Acre had nine hundred knights, eighteen thousand foot soldiers, and the remnants of an army of ruffians and vagabonds sent by the Pope to aid in the defense of the kingdom. In all, with the Cyprus contingent, some twenty-five thousand men. Ashraf Khalil, who had vowed that his father would not be buried till Acre was taken, had twenty-eight thousand cavalry and twenty thousand foot men.

The contest was waged without intermission for a month. Then the Saracens, bearing shields of gold, advanced to the assault. During the night which followed this indecisive attack, the King of Cyprus embarked with his three thousand men.

The Templars, who despaired of success, sought a truce, but they manfully held the walls for two more weeks. On the 18th of May, on which day Acre fell, the dwindling defenders attempted a sortie, but were driven back. The nuns, to save themselves from violation, cut off their noses, and when captured, were only killed.

A thousand men still held the principal gate of Acre, when the Muslims, in a terrific hail storm, burst through, and baptized the city with fire and sword. The battle was contested from street to street. The Muslims sacked and burned as they advanced. William of Clermont, Master of the Hospitallers, died defending his Hospice. The Pope's legate attempted escape by sea. Refugees flocked to his vessel and overcrowded it. It sank with all on board. Civilian women rushed to the surf, imploring boatmen to take them away—to Tyre, to Cyprus—anywhere. The Muslims, too, were at the shore. They seized the women and ravished them in the streets. The great tower of the Temple was mined, and it toppled down, burying the knights and ladies who had sought shelter in its walls. Thousands of Christian women and children, practically the sole survivors, were prisoners.

The Muslim exultation over the victory is related by Makrizi: ¹⁷

"Before Melik Aschraf left to lay siege to Acre Sheik Sherif Eddin Baisin dreamt of a stranger who recited this verse to him: 'The Muslims have already taken Acre and loaded the infidel with blows. Our Sultan has driven against the enemy horses which reduce whole mountains into dust. The Turks swore when they started not to leave the Franks in possession of any land.' Aschraf, in accordance with his enterprize, took possession of Acre, devastated it, and was so thorough that there did not remain a single Frank in all the province of Sahil. . . . Schelal eddin Mahmoud Halebi, secretary of the Chancellor, when he saw flames burning in all parts of the city of Acre, and the ramparts falling to pieces, composed the following verse:

"I passed near the city of Acre after the destruction of its walls when an enemy's hand had lighted a fire in the midst of the city. I saw that the place, after having been Christian, had become Magian, for the towers prostrated themselves before the fire."

Tyre, Haifa, Athlit, Tortosa, Beirut, Sidon were taken by storm. On May 25, 1291, El Ashraf was demanding tribute

of Armenia. In Palestine all the fortresses were dismantled. A considerable number of the villages of Acre were presented to the Wakf of Egypt. Few Franks were left in Syria. They settled in Tripoli or remained there during subsequent reigns. The Christians in Trans-Jordan were not expelled.

The shadow kingdom had ceased. The Cross was vanquished; the Crusaders expunged from the land; the Crescent completely victorious. So disappeared the Frank dominion from Palestine,

"after it had continued with various fortunes for something less than two centuries, disgraced by acts of ferocity, treachery, and licentiousness, as dark as will be found in the annals of any history; round which fiction has contrived to throw a halo of romance and chivalry, as bright and beautiful as it is unreal. Truth and honor and uprightness were confined almost exclusively to the Infidels."¹⁸

Sixty thousand Christians were taken captive in Acre,¹⁹ and Ashraf Khalil, then only twenty-eight years of age, entered Damascus in triumph, with a multitude of captives and a great display of Christian skulls on the spears of his body-guards.

The Pullani, who survived the siege, slipped one by one into Italy, and begged their bread in the streets, while they told the story of their fall.²⁰

Night descended on Asia. The period of the Latin Kingdom had been one of great prosperity—commercial and agricultural—for the coastal towns and plains.²¹ In 1267, six thousand five hundred pounds of rose leaves, grown in a plot one hundred and ten paces by seventy-five, brought the unusually high price of four thousand, four hundred dollars.²²

The land to the Kharezinian incursion was so closely settled that it paid the Marseillais to establish bakehouses in Jerusalem, owing to the scarcity of kindling wood. The Teutonic order owned a hundred villages in the Jordan Valley, and in Galilee. The Knights of St. John amassed one hundred and eighty-two villages for revenue purposes. The Amalfi had five villages in Lydda, the Venetians, eighty in the neighborhood of Tyre. The value of these villages was such that, in 1259, nineteen villages in the vicinity of Nazareth produced an annual revenue of twenty-five thousand dollars. Makrizi, reporting the great drought of 1305, says that two thousand eight hun-

dred villages were deserted between the Gaur and El Arish.²³

The commerce increased steadily, until the Genoese were sending one large fleet, and the Venetians two great caravans a year. Besides the re-export trade, which was large and varied and included six kinds of fur, ostrich feathers, peacock feathers, and gold and silver work, the local industries contributed considerably to trade. The Jews, who furtively had been in Palestine throughout the Crusades, and permitted to resettle by Saladin made Jerusalem, Jaffa, and Acre their leading centers. In 1259 Jechiel, a noted French Rabbi, settled in Acre. Then followed Jews from Worms, Mainz, Speyer, Oppenheim, and Wetterau, influenced by Messianic ideas.²⁴ As a result of this return there was an Exilarch, at the head of the eastern Jews, during the thirteenth century. Nachmanides, who reorganized the Jerusalem community, arrived in Acre where the cabalist, Salomo Pettit settled, in 1267. The influence of this settlement is noted in the dyeing industry in Jerusalem, and particularly in the potteries of Jaffa. Lamps, jugs, jars, cups, dishes, plates and bottles were fabricated from a siliceous clay covered with enamel. The Jews were the potters.²⁵

Tyre was still weaving gorgeous silk—first spun in Palestine in the reign of Justinian—taffeta, and satin. Cotton was woven into cloth and buckram, while the camelots were made from camel's hair. The heaps of ashes outside of Nablus and Jerusalem, which puzzled early nineteenth-century archeologists, were the waste of the great soap industry, manufactured from native olive oil and alkali. The salt of Athlit and the iron of the Lebanon figure in the exports. Villani laments the injury sustained to commerce by the capture of Acre, "situated as it was on the Mediterranean coast, in the center of Syria, and as we might say of the habitable world, a haven for merchandise, both from the east and the west, which all the merchants of the earth frequented for this trade."

To political evolution the Latin Kingdom contributed the rise of the Communes, which first appeared in Syria,²⁶ and developed the rights of the middle classes. In the arts, Venetian glass was a copy of the Syrian manufactures, and Cimabue,

father of Italian painting, was influenced by Palestinean mosaics. Godfrey's followers tore the Koran in pieces, and burnt the library of Tripoli, but by Saladin's era the Frank nobles were learning Arabic and the literature, which the Arabs first took over from the Nestorians, and then from the Jacobites. Bar Hebræus was lecturing on Euclid in 1270. The peace between Frederick II. and El Kamil led to the interdict of the study of Arabic in Europe.²⁷ Nevertheless, Saint Louis, taking example from what he found in Palestine, started the collection of books when he returned home. All the universities of Europe were founded after the Crusaders took Jerusalem—Paris, 1150; Oxford, 1167; Cambridge, 1318.

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CHAPTER XV

THE DARKNESS OF EGYPT—1292 TO 1512

DEVoured by the Kharezmians, the Franks destroyed, great commerce, much wealth and industry swept away, the port towns in ruins, Palestine was afflicted henceforth by a bitter Egyptian bondage.¹ For all of two centuries, under Bahrite and Bohrite Mamluk rule, the whole of the Near East groaned under the lash of despots to whom slavery was both pride and caste. These monarchs held their world in leash by their ability to take from the public treasury the enormous price of their purchased and imported armies, composed of men of their own Turkish-Tartaric blood.

The Bahrite Mamluks were many-sided. Most of them were fairly educated and the patrons of poets and historians. They crushed the provinces, but maintained the prosperity of Egyptian cities, despite the exactions of wars, and the holocausts produced by severe pestilence. The burden of taxation was on the peasants, and on imports and exports. Perverts and degenerates, the Mamluks exhibited endurance and courage on the battle field. They never assimilated with the Egyptians, whom they held in contempt. They gouged the state for their combination of Persian pomp and Roman lavishness. Much work was provided for costumers, embroiderers, and lace makers; ornate robes of office were vastly important to the Mamluk display of dignity. Daily they organized feasts of gargantuan proportions.

The horse was their symbol of conquest; they never walked a step when they could ride, and never permitted a non-Mamluk to use a steed. They built much, but wore the long, hand-covering sleeve because the exposed fingers indelicately suggested servility, and common labor. All these habits and affectations influenced not only contemporary life but the

modes and habits of the world, long after the Mamluk empire disappeared.

Though not uniformly successful in battle, by their pigeon post and mountain-top flares from the Taurus to southern Judea, they kept themselves quickly informed of the movements of the Tartars, and it is to their credit that they checked and stopped the horde.

Frequently the throne was the reward of the bravo's dagger thrust, but the sultan was mostly the puppet of the emirs, who consented, or favored his rise to power. From the Franks they borrowed some phases of the western feudal system, but their government has been well described as a military republic—the rule of a pretorian guard. The western fief system was applied, with disastrous results, in the distribution of authority in the provinces of Syria and Palestine.* The viceroy of Syria, who generally was governor of Palestine, was almost the equal of the Cairo sultan, and often his rival. The emirs, graded according to the number of soldiers they had to contribute to the army, were the equivalent of the European robber-barons, with the added pomp of oriental display, and the meticulousness of dress and service, in which vassals rivalled their liege lord in Cairo.

In the murk spread over Palestine from Egypt, there is detectable the brilliance of the ornate court of the viceroy at Damascus, and its imitation by the governor of Safed, the principal Palestinean vassal, while the glint of steel is always displayed at Gaza and Kerak. One governor of Palestine, Tengis, managed to hold office for twenty-eight years (1312-1339). His efforts to improve trade and soil conditions retarded the decay visibly in process.² During the whole Mamluk era the sugar industry was Palestine's principal economic resource.³ At other times even more obscure officials were the real power. Because the titular head of the state was not always supreme,

* The Mamluk subdivisions were Damascus, Safed and Kerak. South-western Palestine was subdivided into seven districts, Ramleh, Lydda, Kakun, Jerusalem, Hebron, Nablus and Gaza. Eastern Palestine included Beisan, Banias, El Kunetria, Nawa, Adri'at, Adscholan, Belka, Sarchad, and Ezré with Bosrah as capital, and a government center at Admiat. The Safed area had twelve subdivisions.

the history of Palestine is often lost in the usurpation of chieftains whose names are mostly unknown, but whose policies of self-aggrandizement were always maintained by alien swords.

Always the foreign soldier was the police power in Palestine. The Tulunides brought in Turks and Negroes. The Fatimids had Berbers, Slavs, Greeks and *gens des deilim*. Saladin introduced more Turks, and some Kurds. The Mamluks bought armies of Georgians, and Circassians. For his personal security each monarch relied on his own purchase. Kelaoun bought seven thousand such slave soldiers, Berkuck four thousand.⁴ The resulting human mélange was carried off by plague, but it was a factor in the formation of the Levantine, in blood and mentality.

To this alien rule was added the obscurity of the bureaucratic system. The Mamluks developed the old Byzantine model, employing Arabs, Jews and Christians as "men of the pen." In its specialization and subdivision of authority, and in such matters as the licensing of physicians, the bureaucracy was singularly modern. Even the struggle between centralized and decentralized government was a constant source of difference in the Mamluk period. Corruption and venality were an added curse.

Politics, wars, and the great economic changes that followed the expulsion of the Franks, changed the orientation of Palestinian life. Jerusalem lost all political significance, its pilgrimage value in the fourteenth century was small; in local annals it is occasionally mentioned as a place of banishment for the milder type of rebel, or as the temporary place of residence of some monarch. Difficult as it is to conceive the wiping out of a town, Jaffa was completely destroyed. Owing to the shortness of the route, pilgrims to Jerusalem still used it, but in 1421 Jaffa was wholly uninhabited—there were no houses of any kind. At the landing place there were a few tents for the officials who collected landing dues, customs, and quarantine.⁵ The other port towns were not so thoroughly destroyed, but were no longer equipped for trade. Western sea-borne commerce declined steadily for two centuries, owing to the wars

between the English and the French, and the no less vindictive struggles between the Genoese and the Venetians.

Palestine moved inward. For two centuries Gaza was by far the largest and most populated city. It was the jumping-off spot for every Egyptian army marching to Syria. The sultans generally managed to cross the Sinai Desert in six days, pausing at El Arish, reassembling their troops at Gaza, and if they did not lead the soldiers marching to the north, harangued them by Samson's hill. Gaza was therefore an important politico-military center. It attracted every rebel, and its annals include a multitude of minor insurrections. Gaza's growth was such that Maundeville, who visited it between 1322 and 1356,⁶ described it as a "gay and rich city, and it is very fair, and full of people." Between there and Damascus he makes no reference to evidence of bustle and trade. By 1482 it had grown so that Fabri called Gaza a "dishful of butter." Twice as populous as Jerusalem it had "all things needful for human life." It had so many palm trees "that the city seems to stand in a wood." Of Christians, only the Latins were absent, but the feared Mamluks were very much in evidence. "I do not think that I have ever seen any place or city where all that man can wish for is so cheap as at Gaza." The population was so tolerant that it did not resent Fabri's public display of his cross.⁷

Safed was another and no less important military center. As often as its walls were thrown down by earthquake, they were rebuilt. To the Mamluks Safed was the key to Syria, and its fortress the bulwark against the Tartar invasion of Palestine. So important was it in the first half of the fourteenth century, that Marino Sanuto mistakenly referred to it as one of the cities included in the Roman Decapolis.⁸ Safed was the *de facto* capital of Palestine, its emir was under the direct authority of the viceroy of Syria, and was responsible for the mustering of the Palestinian troops for the wars.

Kerak, and its neighbor, Schaubak (Montreal), achieved great prominence during the Mamluk régime. Kerak no longer seriously guarded the eastern marches, for the Bedouins had fairly free ingress to Palestine during all this period, and their

depredations are constantly referred to. But the Bahrite Mamluks used Kerak as a favorite place of banishment for obstreperous emirs. It was also the monarch's personal Elba to which he fled, and from which he returned to resume the reins of office. Though lost to western Christians for centuries, Kerak throughout this period sustained a considerable population of eastern Christians, who knew how to live at comparative ease in Muslim surroundings, served all the rulers submissively, and only rebelled when their cherished customs were tabooed. The presence of these Christians probably added to the security of the fortress town, for they were, no doubt, neutral in the frequent court conspiracies. It was to Kerak that the sultans sent their surplus wealth for safe keeping. In 1309 Nasir, then in exile in Kerak, seized six hundred thousand dirhems, and two hundred thousand dinars—some authorities give much higher figures—for his own use. The corruption and venality of the court made this distant safe depository a necessity.

The fourth Palestinian place conspicuous during the reign of the Mamluks was Aqaba, with its extraordinarily rich and luxurious verdure, its wealth of palms and its deep blue sea.⁹ Its gray-green limestone cliffs, its crags of black porphyry and diorite, and the soft pink limestone at its water edge, made a riot of color, enjoyed by the Mecca pilgrims landing there. The town was not only well-guarded on the land side but, as in Crusading times, was protected by a deep-sea fortress, the ruins of which are still visible at low tide. It was a safe haven for oriental trade, and a halting place for the pilgrims who came from Egypt and Africa, overland. The government had little control of the trade routes, and less over the pilgrim roads. Protection from Bedouin or Druze raids was obtained by organizing great caravans at Aqaba. Caravans of five thousand camels are frequently mentioned, and one of nine thousand camels was successfully plundered. Even the Sultan's cavalcade was not safe. In 1377, when Shaban, one of the boy kings, was attacked at Aqaba, en route for Mecca, the young monarch, being deserted by his troops, abandoned his pilgrimage and hastened back to Cairo.

II

Nature, in the form of earthquakes, storms, locusts, and great pestilence, conspired with the Tartars to make the fourteenth century an era of unparalleled devastation. In 1293 Palestine was visited by a great earthquake and violent storms. Gaza, Ramleh, and Lydda suffered seriously; three towers fell at Kerak, and a considerable number of flour mills were wrecked in the Sahil. Ashraf ordered the governor of Damascus to repair the damage, which extended to Baalbec, but little was accomplished. A drought followed which the sultan tried to overcome by digging wells at El Arish. Then the Tartars threatened a new invasion. Kaikhatou, their king, sent an embassy to Cairo, demanding Aleppo, which had been captured by his father Hulago, as a place of residence. Ashraf's response was a threat to recapture Baghdad, but before his army was ready to march, he was, in 1294, assassinated. Among the reasons given for this crime was that the sultan had been guilty of drinking wine during the Ramadan.

His immediate successor was Nasir, then nine years old. Twice deposed, Nasir was thrice sultan. On his first deposition, the Mamluk emirs chose as sultan, Ketboga, an overbearing monarch, the first years of whose reign are notable for a great and prolonged drought, which resulted in scarcity and high prices. Dogs, cats, vermin, and even young children, were eaten. The famine and drought spread throughout Syria and Palestine. Thousands died, and there was extensive westward migration from Mesopotamia. The *rotl* of bread brought a silver dirhem, and watermelons, used as medicament, brought one hundred silver dirhems each.¹⁰

The drought may have caused the immigration into Palestine of eighteen thousand "tents" of the Yurate Tartars from the Euphrates. They were permitted to settle in the Sahil, and their principal camp was at Athlit. A great number of these migrants died in Palestine, but their daughters were espoused by the inhabitants of the country, emirs and officials vying for the possession of their children, especially the girls. Grateful for Ketboga's liberality they later organized a rebellion in his

favor, but except for this incident they disappear, merged in the population.¹¹

Ketboga was holding court on the Aujah * when he was suddenly deposed, but unlike most of the Mamluks he at first agreed to his dismissal, and to his replacement, by the governor of Syria.

Lajin, a Mamluk of striking personal presence, who had a hand in the murder of Ashraf and other notables, and whose contributions to the buildings of Jerusalem may be an expression of his remorse, was proclaimed sultan. As this honor came to him in Palestine, he signalized his accession by relieving Gaza of its special taxes. Lajin and his favorite minister, Mankoutimur, were, however, in due course, assassinated. Nasir, who had been confined at the fortress at Kerak, came back, only to abdicate voluntarily.

Lajin, however, bore a good deal of the brunt of the Tartar invasion. From 1299 to 1303 the Tartars gave great cause for anxiety. Gazan, the Tartar monarch, advanced into Syria, and Lajin, after putting down the Yurate insurrection which aimed at restoring Ketboga to the throne, went north and faced an army of one hundred thousand Mongols. Hims was again the battleground. The Egyptians were worsted, and the Tartars followed the fugitive Egyptians to Jerusalem, and even to Kerak and Gaza.

Gazan entered Damascus, and proclaimed himself sultan. His ordinance of December, 1299, promised protection to the Jews and Christians. Under his direction twenty thousand Ashiri, and four thousand Mongols under Moulai, possessed themselves of the Ghor cantons (the Jordan Valley), occupied Jerusalem and camped in Gaza. Palestine thus had experience of rapine and murder under a Mongol viceroy, besides the constant drafting for the war. Gazan's victory and Moulai's occupation of Jerusalem, despite the havoc wrought, made an extraordinary impression on the Christians. Gazan had been reared a Buddhist, and had but recently been converted to Islam, and it was believed that he was about to become a Christian and

* There are two streams by this name in Palestine, one north of Jaffa, the Biblical Yarkon, and another on the north of the Jordan. As Ketboga was at Lydda, the coastal stream was the scene of his removal.

restore the Holy Land to the Church. One of his wives was the natural daughter of a Christian prince, and to her was attributed this pro-Christian policy. Moreover, the year 1300 was regarded by Christian mystics as the doom year of Islam. It is claimed that the Christians observed the Easter of 1300 in Jerusalem. According to this version, which is of Armenian origin, Gazan abandoned his Syrian possessions to the King of Armenia, who reigned for fifteen days in Jerusalem and restored the Christian cult.¹²

Gazan quickly retired from Damascus, which he looted to the extent of three hundred million dirhems in cash, besides much other booty. While in 1301 the Egyptians were storm bound on the Aujah, and many soldiers and camp followers perished, the Tartars were snow bound in the Lebanon. This was, however, only a temporary check, for in 1303 Gazan sent his general and near-relative, Kotlushah, to Syria. This time the Egyptians, who again gave battle at Hims, were victorious. Though at the end of two days of slaughter Kotlu, at the critical hour, threw in fifteen thousand cavalry, the Egyptians were enabled to go home with twenty thousand prisoners, and indulge themselves in a great triumphal pageant in Cairo, where they exhibited their captives in chains.

But a great earthquake followed the victory. It extended from Alexandria to Damascus, and was accompanied by such convulsions that it seemed "as though the heavens were falling on the earth." The citadel and part of the town of Safed fell in. At Acre the sea receded for two parasangs, causing much damage. The tremors lasted twenty hours, and noxious fumes were emitted from the crevices formed by the upheavals.¹³

Meanwhile the population of Nablus organized an insurrection, and the Druzes came down from their mountains, and though both rebellions were checked, Palestine was considerably ravaged. The Druzes, however, rose again in 1316. Bibars II. was sultan after Nasir's voluntary withdrawal to Kerak, but the ex-monarch speedily repented this abdication, returned to Cairo, and chased the escaping Bibars to Gaza. Bibars was captured in the Palestinian town and tortured to death. Then Nasir once more ascended the throne. In 1331

he refused to cede a landing place for Christian pilgrims in Palestine. Probably owing to this, Philip VI., in 1336, on the advice of Pope Benedict XII., then at Avignon, prepared for a crusade, whereupon Nasir ordered the destruction of the mole, the quay, and the port of Jaffa, and prohibited the landing of pilgrims.¹⁴ The destruction so started was completed in 1367, when Peter I., king of Cyprus, made war on Egypt and razed what was left of Jaffa. So complete was the ruin that no attempt was made, during three centuries, to revive the town.

The emirs were so divided for many decades that Nasir, who was lame and suffered from cataract, actually managed to establish a dynasty which lasted to 1382. Nine of his sons, two of his nephews, and their two sons, each briefly occupied the throne. These thirteen monarchs, most of them youngsters, were nonentities as rulers. Seven of them were deposed, several were killed, others retired more or less voluntarily. Several of them preferred the voluptuousness of Kerak to the business of trying to keep the turbulent emirs in order in Egypt. While Ahmed, in 1342, thus idled in Kerak, the actual ruler of the empire was Tushtumer. Kotlbogha, who played a large part in Palestinean affairs, was governor of Syria. A very mild monarch, Ismail, succeeded Ahmed, but as the latter continued to intrigue from Kerak, that fortress was besieged in December, 1342, and Ahmed slain. During Ahmed's short reign the Bedouins continually raided Palestine. In 1345 and in 1346 two sultans, Shaban and Hajy, were assassinated, and the regent slain at Gaza.

Violent quakes shook the earth from Egypt to Syria in 1344. Hassan, who came to the throne in December, 1347, was sultan when, in 1348, the disastrous world epidemic, known as the Black Death, overwhelmed the East. Syria and Palestine were covered with dead bodies. In Cæsarea none were left alive. Twenty-two thousand people and animals died in Gaza, in six weeks.¹⁵ The great mortality in Palestine was exceeded in Egypt, where twenty-two thousand persons died in Cairo in one month. Food was smitten, fish floated dead on the river surface, and cattle were infected with murrain. Stowe reports that

in 1357 the epidemic again carried off large numbers of Saracens, Turks, Syrians, and Palestineans.

Nowairi¹⁶ relates that in the first decades of the fourteenth century the Jews and Christians were living sumptuously, ostentatiously displaying their newly acquired wealth, and offending the Muslims by their abandonment of all the old rules of segregation. These offending Christians were all orientals. The Jews, coming in considerable numbers as pilgrims to Palestine, settled and reorganized the Jewries of Jerusalem—where they lived in what is now the Muslim quarter—Hebron, Safed and Ramleh, and in every pilgrim chap-book they are referred to among the pedlars offering wares at the fairs, organized for the benefit of the pilgrims. They are always mentioned with loathing and contempt, and yet watched with curiosity, because they were hoarding building stones against the day of national restoration.

There had been Jews in Palestine throughout the Crusades. Generally they had been under the protection of the Genoese merchants, but those in Acre were under the rule of the Venetians.¹⁷ Another author claims that these pre-Saladanic Jews inter-married with the natives of the country, Christian and Muslim.¹⁸ If so, they would not appear on the register of births, marriages and deaths, according to nationalities and creeds which we are assured were daily kept during the Bahrite régime. In 1333, Isaac Helo of Aragon reported that the Jewish community of Jerusalem had greatly increased. He mentions that Ramleh, which he regarded as a beautiful city, was well populated and Jews much in evidence.¹⁹

The new settlers were refugees from the expulsion from France ordered by Philip the Fair. Most of these Jews were craftsmen, weavers, dyers, cotton spinners, glass blowers, mathematicians, and even astrologers. Divination was a popular business in Jerusalem at this period among all sects. One pilgrim bewailing this superstition, relates seeing monks casting specially devised dice in order to prognosticate the future. There is no evidence of non-Muslim wealth; nevertheless, all the old distinctions in dress were renewed. The Saracens were exceedingly jealous of their right to wear pure white garments,

and the attempt of Christians to disguise themselves in white robes was the frequent cause of fights and quarrels, and the source of many of the complaints noted in the pilgrim texts.

The Christians on this occasion were ordered to don blue, the Jews yellow, and the Samaritans red turbans, a headgear made by rolling into the prescribed folds some twenty ells of material. The size, shape, and color of headgear figure in all the sumptuary laws. The restrictions included the prohibition to bear arms, which was carefully enforced at the gate of every town; nor could the non-Muslims ride horses, pray in a loud voice, or appear in public baths without identification marks. Apostasy by Muslims was forbidden, and intercourse between non-Muslims and Muslimal was punishable by death. This special law, noted in all regulations issued by the church authorities to the pilgrims, evidently required frequent repetition. The Christians endeavored to buy release from the distinctive garb, but failing in this, many apostatized rather than wear the blue turban. The Christians of Kerak and Schaubak (Montreal) protested violently against these regulations, and many churches and synagogues were closed throughout the country for a year. In 1364, the Christians were denied the right to sell wine, a prohibition running across the centuries, but constantly evaded. On this occasion all fermented liquors and narcotics were destroyed.

These ordinances were, however, more characteristic of the age than expressive of religious persecution; all non-Muslims were held as inferiors. While the Saracen population of Jerusalem often exhibited its fanaticism against the Christians, the sultan, in 1306, permitted the Georgians to reopen their church in Jerusalem at the expense, however, of the Armenians, who were generally in favor, but who on this occasion were pushed out,²⁰ and the Latins were authorized to build the church over the Tomb of the Virgin. In general, the cultural aspect of Islam in Jerusalem was improved by the founding of a number of schools.

The strangling of the boy-sultan, Shaban, after his aborted pilgrimage to Mecca, was the low ebb of the Nasir dynasty and

of the Bahrite Mamluks. In 1379 Berkuck, an emir who had been a slave of Ketboga, and banished on his master's murder, gained the support of some of the Syrian emirs and crushed his Palestinean rival, Berekh. Supported by the Syrian viceroy he became supreme in Cairo. Two children, descendants of Nasir, were for a time nominal sultans, but in 1382 Berkuck mounted the throne, and so ended the Bahrite, or Turkish Mamluk, dynasty which had reigned for one hundred and twenty-two years.

III

Berkuck's reign was divided into two periods. During the first six years he was so cruel and oppressive that the Syrian and Palestinean population, which had helped him to the throne, rose against him. In June, 1389, the boy-sultan, Hajy, was recalled and Berkuck exiled to Kerak. But the Atabeg, or regent, was unpopular, and Berkuck regained the good will of the Syrians and Palestineans. Accordingly, he left Kerak and made war on Sultan Hajy with the aid of the Tartars,²¹ but he was badly defeated at Gaza, and compelled to flee to Damascus. Here Berkuck managed to retrieve his fortunes, for he captured both the sultan and the attendant caliph, and took them with him to Cairo. Hajy was formally deposed, and Berkuck became sultan. In his second period, which lasted to 1399, Berkuck instituted a number of reforms, and removed all illegal imposts. His conduct in these matters is inscribed on a tablet in the Dome of the Rock. Like most of his Bahrite predecessors, Ketboga, Lajin, and Nasir, who repaired the water-system of Jerusalem, he expended considerable sums on the repair and regilding of the Dome, and in the erection of additions in the Haram Area. He was, however, by no means sympathetic to the Christians settled in Jerusalem. In 1395, four monks appeared publicly in the streets of Jerusalem challenging the Muslim theologians to a debate on religion. An immense crowd being gathered, the fanatics began to disparage the person of Mohammad. They were arrested and burnt alive in the presence of a vast concourse of spectators.²² This, how-

ever, is one of the few incidents reported of vicious and cruel religious persecution.

Berkuck's reign was disturbed by the vain attempt of a descendant of Ali to regain Syria and Palestine for the Prophet's family. More serious was the menace of the Tartars, under Timur (Tamerlane). The advance guard of his great horde, which left its home pastures in 1393, made their presence felt in Palestine in 1399, the year the sultan died.

The death of Berkuck strengthened the Atabeg, or regency, system, which was responsible for the storm and confusion of the era. The heir to the throne, Faraj, was only thirteen years old when his father died. Two emirs, Tagri Berdy and Itmish, were made co-regents, and ruled with some ability. All the odds were against the boy king. The Syrians opposed the rule of minors, and the Othmans were rapidly advancing to power, and their interests were opposed to those of the Circassian Mamluks. Berkuck had left his son a legacy of conflict with Bayezid, the Turkish Sultan.

The Tartars were on the move. To sustain themselves, the Atabegs introduced some administrative reforms. Palestine and Hebron came under a local governor, but these measures proved of little avail.

Dangerous as was the Tartar advance, it is doubtful whether Syria would have fallen an easy prey if the emirs had upheld the boy king. Instead, they were in open revolt and, as in the days of the Kharezmians, were accused of encouraging the horde in exchange for support of their personal pretensions. Faraj had to quell their rebellion, in the midst of the struggle with the Tartars. By autumn, 1401, Timur (Tamerlane), who had spent a lifetime consolidating his power among the eastern tribes, was, though seventy years of age, advancing like a whirlwind on Syria. His main army came down from the north, one great wing descended upon Trans-Jordan, where it did great havoc. The Egyptians courageously faced their enemy, in the vicinity of Damascus, and were crushed. Damascus proved an easy victory for the Tartar leader. He completely ruined the city, leaving only one Christian family alive, and sent the best of its population into slavery in Samarcand. The

six thousand villages * of Egypt, Palestine and Syria lay open to the invader; Egypt, so well worth sacking, was within the possibility of easy capture. To cope with the enemy Faraj, who for three years was the vassal of Timur, built a bridge across the Jordan, which is still in use.

At this critical juncture the whole world was at the mercy of two ruthless men, racially related and religiously united, Timur the Tartar, and Bayezid the Turk. Avoiding Constantinople the Turkish sultan had fought his way westward into Europe, and at the opening of the fifteenth century had subdued Wallachia and Serbia. At Nicopolis he overwhelmed the French, and other Christian Crusaders organized against him. The Christian powers were practically at his mercy, and, in the hour of victory, Bayezid boasted that he would stable his horse at the high altar of St. Peter's at Rome.²²

The two monarchs approved not only each other's anti-Christian policy, but the ruthlessness employed in its execution. They fortunately clashed on personal grounds. Timur offended Bayezid by the capture of Siwas, which acknowledged the Turkish sovereign, and by the execution of Bayezid's son, Ertoghoul. Thereupon the Turk raised the siege of Constantinople, then just begun, and summoned his army of Christian and Muslim veterans for a war in Asia against the Tartar. Timur avoided the immediate challenge, withdrew his armies, and renounced the conquest of Palestine.

The "Shadow of God" and the "Wrath of God," as Bayezid and Timur respectively described themselves, met a year later. In 1402 their armies clashed at the celebrated battle of Angora, where the "Wrath" was victorious, and the "Shadow" so humiliated that Christian analysts, who described Timur as the "noble Tartarian," long rejoiced in mistakenly reporting that Bayezid was held captive in a cage.

The postal system, founded by the Abbasides and elaborated by the Bahrite Mamluks, was ruined through Timur's destruction of Damascus. The route to Syria was abandoned, and the

* Gibbon, VII, p. 55, says 60,000 villages. This is a gross exaggeration. The record for 1375 shows that ten million dinars were collected as revenue from nineteen hundred named places, in Egypt. Six thousand villages would have been more nearly correct.

people were too wretched to attempt its speedy re-establishment. Timur not only continued his savagery to his death in 1405, ruining Asia, but bequeathed to the continent the ensanguined history of the next hundred years. To gain his ends, he accepted, as independent vassals, all the petty princes of the Taurus, and dealt with the Syrian emirs, who needed little encouragement, in the same spirit.

The immediate result was that when the Tartars retired the emirs rose against Faraj, and in 1405 he fled. Abdul Aziz was selected as his successor, but a counter-revolution was organized, and Faraj regained the throne. The final six years of Faraj's reign witnessed unending struggle against the rebellious emirs. Faraj conducted seven campaigns against them. In 1406 the greater part of Palestine and Syria was captured by an emir named Jakam, who proclaimed himself sultan. In 1411 Sheikh, governor of Damascus, seized the throne by invading Egypt. He was, however, forced to flee, but was powerful enough to ensure a pardon notwithstanding his insubordination. Returning to Damascus he was joined in another rebellion by Niruz, emir of Aleppo, and together they established a brief independent sultanate over Syria and Palestine.

Between the horrors of endless civil war, Timur's invasion and destruction, Syrian revolutions, famine, the outbreak of plague, and the attacks of pirates, who raided the coast, the population was in 1411 reduced to one-third of its former size.²³

Faraj went to Damascus to treat with the rebels. Here he was deposed, assassinated, and his body, in contempt, flung on a dunghill. Musta'in Abbas, the shadow caliph, was proclaimed sultan, and ruled without subordinates. Sheikh and Niruz were, however, the real powers. The Caliph's sultanate was of short duration, for he was deposed by Sheikh, who took the throne and assumed the surname of El Mu'yad. Niruz offended, immediately proclaimed a Holy War against his former co-conspirator. The struggle between these two rivals lasted nearly three years, during which Palestine was continually in military occupation. Sheikh eventually disposed of his rival and poisoned his own son, Ibrahim, after he gained a victory for the sultan and restored order in the empire. But it was not of long

duration, for when, in 1418, Sheikh signalized the peace he had established by a pilgrimage to Jerusalem, the eastern tribes rose in revolt and conducted a devastating campaign in Galilee. Jerusalem, however, in the meantime had acquired a number of embellishments from these briefly reigning monarchs and their friends. Muslim schools and priests' houses were built, one of the important contributors being a Dame Tonshuq, the pious slave-widow of a Muzaffan notable, whose memory survives in Lady's Street, in the old city.

Sheikh was, in 1421, succeeded by a seventeen-month-old child named Ahmed, and his brother-in-law, Altunbogha, was named Atabeg. Amid a fog of persecution of Christians and Jews, and an outbreak of plague, a rebellion was organized by Tatar, who styled himself regent of Syria. He acquired sufficient power, with the aid of the Syrians, always opposed to the rule of any minor, to compel Altunbogha to come to terms with him. The latter's agreement to divide authority was rewarded by his murder. Tatar got rid of the baby-sultan, but he could not retain the throne for more than a few months. By November, 1421, he was supplanted by a boy of ten, Mohammad, with Bursbai and Jani Beg as co-regents.

The usual rivalry for power followed. Jani Beg was banished but supported by the governor of Damascus. Bursbai mounted the throne. Bursbai immediately started a vindictive persecution of the non-Muslims, prohibiting their employment in the royal Divan. But he was shrewd enough to renew the arrangement whereby both the Genoese and the Venetians were represented in Palestine. The Genoese had a consul in the country from the fourteenth century. The Venetians had their trading rights restored later. Judging by their indifference to the protests made by the Venetian ambassadors against considerable sums exacted from pilgrims, the Mamluks did not permit these trade representatives to exercise any political authority.²⁸

In 1423 Bursbai caught the governor of Safed in a conspiracy, and executed that official. He was in other respects a capable ruler. In 1424 he captured Cyprus, and entered upon a serious struggle against the economic policies of the

western powers who were fighting Egypt for the control of the oriental trade. He created monopolies in the two principal commodities, sugar and pepper, acts that influenced the discovery-voyages of the Portuguese and Spaniards, and were perhaps contributory causes of the expulsion of the Jews from Spain. The Egyptians favored the Venetians, so the Castilian and Aragonian fleets attacked the Syrian coast.

In 1437 Jani Beg made a futile attempt to overthrow Bursbai. By that date, the Tartar movement having wholly receded, the eastern world was divided between Circassian Mamluk and Othman Turk. Egypt controlled the eastern while the Turk held the western and northern part of Asia Minor. But Palestine was a desert. 1438 was a year of plague, dearth and locusts; an earthquake destroyed a church in Jerusalem. The Muslims ruled that as the church had suffered from an act of God, it would be sheer blasphemy to restore it. The Christians, however, persisted in the attempts to rebuild it, and the new building was torn down in the succeeding reign.

Bursbai bequeathed the throne to Yusuf, with the emir, Jakmac, as guardian. Yusuf, only fifteen years old, was speedily deposed. Jakmac thereupon ascended the throne, subdued Syria and Palestine, and being orthodox, renewed the persecution of the Jews and Christians. This sultan's attack on the Christians was more violent than usual. All the Christian sects were, by this time, represented in the population of Jerusalem, though the church interest was more centered upon the impossible union of all the sects, than upon any development in Jerusalem. But, according to a church writer, "experience had taught the Greeks that the Latin love was more insufferable than Turkish hate." ²⁰

The Latins, or Franks, were few in number in Palestine, and they were on greater sufferance than the eastern Christians, whose heresies they were constantly attacking, and who treated them, in return, with the same enmity as the Muslims exhibited towards them. Strife was the keynote of Jerusalem's religious life. Jakmac sent his sheik, Mohammad el Mushmer, to Jerusalem and Bethlehem to destroy all the churches and convents erected in defiance of 'Omar's restriction. The con-

vents and monasteries were emptied of their inhabitants, and other rules were enforced.²⁷

The Jews received milder treatment, for they were confirmed in their right to build a synagogue, though the local officials bitterly opposed it. The Jews brought suit in Cairo, and won their case in the high court. Jakmac followed this up by depriving the corrupt *cadi* of Jerusalem of his office, and banished him. But both Jews and Christians experienced the vexation, which was long practiced, of being shut up at night in their bazaars or quarters. The key was given the governor, and the inhabitants only released next morning at the caprice of their keeper. The burning of the cupola of the Dome of the Rock, in 1447, may have been a factor in the persecutions. Fanaticism was rife and increased by the presumed discovery of the Tomb of David, of which the Muslims, however, took possession.²⁸

Jakmac reigned for fifteen years, and at his death in 1452 Othman, the son of a Greek slave girl, was called to the throne. Inal, the admiral of the fleet, an illiterate, usurped the throne and held it to 1461. The Othman Turks, by their capture of Constantinople in 1453, put an end to the Byzantine remnant of the Roman empire, and by their victory indirectly notified the Egyptians that the contest for Muslim world supremacy was henceforth an issue between the two governments. Inal, who lived to the ripe age of eighty, probably gave more attention to domestic affairs. He was subordinate to the emirs, who vied with each other in the "rackets" they practiced on the Palestinean population. The Bedouins were equally active in their raids, and there is little to choose between the offenses of Mamluk emirs and Bedouin sheiks.

Plague was prevalent in Palestine when, in 1461, Ahmed, Inal's son, who had the support of the governor of Damascus, mounted the throne. He was in his early thirties and, therefore, his prospects were better than that of most of his predecessors, but the emirs opposed him and a Greek Mamluk, Khushcadam, the major domo of the palace, was preferred. Civil strife, of course, followed; the viceroy of Syria was removed, and the office sold for an annual tribute of forty-five thousand pieces of

gold. The governorship of Safed brought four thousand dirhems.²⁰ The Greek sultan managed somehow to retain the throne to October, 1467. During the whole of his reign Palestine was not only torn by civil strife and over-run by the Bedouins, but the Muslims renewed among themselves one of those old bitter religious quarrels which had been the cause of the break-up of previous dynasties.

At the close of Khushcadam's career the Egyptian empire was financially ruined, and its people suffering from penury. The great drought of the winter of 1468-69 was followed, in Palestine, by serious famine. In the spring of 1469, the plague again spread, and lasted to September of that year, carrying off great numbers. The winter of 1472-73 was so severe that three hundred and sixty houses in Jerusalem fell in.

Despite this misery, the never-ending Mamluk contest for the throne continued. Khushcadam was set aside by Yel-Bey, and his lunatic son was, for a few months, sultan. Another Greek named Timurbugha then reigned to 1467, after a struggle with Suivar, an emir of some note, who made an abortive attempt to seize Syria, and proclaimed himself sultan. Timurbugha was a tolerant scholar, whose mildness was his undoing.

This was the opportunity for the first masterful Mamluk in many decades. The throne was seized January, 1468, by Kait Bai, a Circassian, who executed the Syrian pretender with great barbarity, and thenceforth ruled with considerable authority and power. During the twenty-nine years of his reign, Kait Bai, who had been bought as a slave for fifty dinars, proved himself capable of resisting the pressure which the Turks were exerting upon Egypt. He inherited the Mamluk aversion to the Othmans, and taxed the empire one-fifth of the produce for the war. Jews and Christians were remorselessly squeezed. From 1481 to 1489, he supported the rising of Prince Jem against Bayezid II. By way of reprisal, the Turks advanced to their Syrian border, which now paralleled that of the Egyptian empire. Kait Bai led his army and defeated the Turks in 1485-86, and responded aggressively to the economic pressure they employed.

Between 1475 and 1477 Kait Bai made a complete tour of his empire. He visited Jerusalem, where the Haram Area was cleansed with rose water in his honor, made lavish gifts to it, and remained there some time. He also went to the Cave of Machpelah at Hebron. His long tour of inspection, on which he was accompanied by a great cavalcade, was recorded to the minutest detail, even to the heavy trunks filled with his many royal robes. Being too heavy to carry up the steep mountains, by the usual routes, these extra burdens were borne to his halting places from Safed to Kerak and Khan Yunes by easy stages.²⁰

Most of the Bahrite monarchs had added to the architecture of Jerusalem within the Haram Area. A number of schools had been founded for the Ulemas by devout Arabs; one Sultan built a caravanserai for the pilgrims; another repaired the aqueduct to the pools of Solomon. The water supply evidently gave considerable trouble. Kait Bai in 1469, in honor of his victories,²¹ repaired it.

In 1482 Kait Bai made a great tour of the country, accompanied by twenty-five Mamluks and a host of attendants and officials. He rode in two days from Gaza to Safed, which, according to his diarist, had eighteen synagogues, and where a great festival was organized in honor of the monarch. In recognition of this enthusiasm, he promised to repair the citadel and the water system. Bardy Bek, the governor of Safed, was at least as liberal as the Sultan in his personal gifts, all of which are in a quaint record. This tour carried the ruler to Tripoli, and brought him back to Palestine, along the coast, through Ramleh to Gaza. Most of the time the Sultan and his escort rode through incessant rain. But it was politics and not the inclement season that forced Kait Bai to hurry to Cairo and postpone his visit to Jerusalem to later in the year.²²

His building operations, which continued for many years, are intimately described by Fabri,²³ who relates that owing to the generous nature of the works, and perhaps owing to the presence of the sovereign—Kait Bai spent some time in Jerusalem, in 1482—the Muslims wondered whether the sultan was about to transfer his official capital to Jerusalem, while the

Jews speculated on the possibility of his restoring the city to them. An earthquake in 1485, however, did considerable damage to the minarets erected, and to other improvements.

Kait Bai had considerable trouble with his Christian subjects. In 1476 four Muslims were seized by the Christians of Alexandria. By way of reprisal, all the Christian ecclesiastics in the empire were arrested, and it was not till 1482 that they were permitted to resume daily worship in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre. The Bedouins were no less troublesome. In 1480 the governor of Jerusalem put to death some members of the Beni Zaid tribe. The Bedouins thereupon stormed Jerusalem, and pillaged the city.

The horrors of plague, and murrain among the cattle, recurred in 1477, producing great mortality in Palestine. The epidemic of 1491-92 was still more serious. At first the deaths were thirty to forty a day. But the mortality in Jerusalem alone reached one hundred and thirty daily. In Egypt the outbreak was even more severe. In Cairo one-third of the Mamluks died. The year in which Columbus set out on his great western quest, ended in Jerusalem with a severe snowstorm, in which even the foundations of houses disappeared.

Kait Bai's death, in 1496, was followed by a resumption of the old conspiracies for the throne. His successor was his son, En-Nasir Mohammad II., a dissolute youngster, who preferred the voluptuousness of Kerak to government in Cairo. Kansuh was his guardian, or regent, but a rival for the office of Atabeg appeared on the scene and they fought each other, alternately claiming the support of the populations. The pretender was killed in Gaza. Anarchy reigned as emir after emir attempted to gain the throne by capturing Syria and Palestine. Some of these militant emirs were temporarily successful, and donned the sultan's robes. Kansowah el Ashrafty, Jan Belet, Tuman Bai are recorded in the Circassian dynasty, but they were little better, and exerted no more power than the Bedouin chiefs, who took full advantage of the disturbed conditions, but laid no claim to royal authority. Finally, in 1501, the "play boy," Nasir, was "cut down" and the emirs elected a sixty-year-old colleague, Kansuh el Ghuri, sultan. The treasury was empty, and the empire exhausted.

By extraordinary taxation, in which even the mosques and all ecclesiastical property were assessed, el Ghuri raised cash. The exactions were so onerous that the Governor of Damascus organized a revolution, but el Ghuri crushed it, and the rebel governor was slain in battle. Thereafter the Sultan ruled with great vigor, fighting on every hand and with every conceivable weapon.

To the economic pressure exerted by Turkey was added the competition of Spain and Portugal. Vasco da Gama's new route to India via the Cape of Good Hope, and Columbus' discovery of America, were blows, vital blows, to the great trade and wealth of Alexandria. From that blow Egypt did not recover for centuries, but el Ghuri dealt with the contemporary situation. In 1501 he notified the Pope that unless the Iberian monarchs stopped their depredations on the Indian trade, he would destroy all the Holy Places in Jerusalem, and treat all the Christians in his empire as the Spaniards had treated the Moors. Neither threat was effective.

Between 1502 and 1505 the Bedouins, emboldened, again attacked both Jerusalem and Kerak. El Ghuri put them down with a ruthless hand. He attempted to gain the good will of the Turks, and, at their suggestion, all the Venetian merchants in Syria were arrested.

This monarch, who was fated to be the last of the Circassian Mamluks, not only restored the splendor of their court, but surpassed them all in lavishness. To the pomp and glitter, which his subjects loved, he added the fabulous expense of introducing utensils of solid gold in the royal kitchens in Cairo.

IV

The wonderful sheen and gorgeous colors of Mamluk ostentation, obscured in some measure the facile descent of Palestine, which had continued throughout the whole period of the Circassian dynasty. Only three of the long list of rulers, from 1382 to 1516, possessed the ability either to hold the throne or maintain order. For sixty out of one hundred and thirty-four years the empire was given over to the internecine strife of the ambitious emirs, and as Arab records indicate, the Bedouins for a century found little opposition to their forays, and even

on two occasions invaded Jerusalem. The roads, as the pilgrim records amply indicate, were insecure. The passage from Jaffa, to Gaza, to Jerusalem was safely accomplished only by pilgrims travelling in bands, under the leadership of the Minor Franciscans, guarded by soldiers, after paying toll to the freebooters.

If the Mamluks did not welcome, they offered no opposition to the pilgrims. To the state and to the local governor, the visitors were excellent sources of revenue; toll was taken at the landing place, at city gates, and at the entrance of the Holy Places. These receipts must have added considerably to the legal, and illegal, revenues, for the pilgrims were numerous—on one occasion, in 1482, as many as six hundred came together.³⁴

The visitors were closely inspected, carefully listed, quarantined, and repeatedly counted to prevent grafting. Following the Muslim ordinances, pilgrims had to enter every city on foot, and unarmed. A virtue was later made of the entry of the Holy Cities on foot, but the pilgrims protested vigorously in their contemporary writings against the degradation which was intended by this rule. In Palestine they moved humbly, and in fear of governor, population and Bedouins.

As Fabri quaintly puts it, they sang *Te Deum Laudamus* "in a subdued voice." The Crusading spirit had been crushed. "At this time the Christians would care little about the Saracens bearing rule in Jerusalem, provided only that we were allowed freedom to pass in and out of our temple of the Lord's sepulchre without fear and without vexatious payments."³⁵

The Muslim population was unsympathetic to the visitors, and their fanaticism is shown³⁶ by the imprisonment, beating, and imposition of one hundred and fifty ducats on the escort of the pilgrims, a sea-captain, for approaching too close to the Dome of the Rock. This shrine was so closely guarded from the Christians that they could only see it from the heights at a distance. In several centuries only two Christians record having visited it—Maundeville had a safe conduct and John Wild gained admission at the risk of his life.

Except for the embellishment of the Haram Area, and the

water supply of Jerusalem, the Circassians did little to restore the ruined cities, or make the country habitable. To the contrary, at Jaffa they destroyed all the orchards. In the second half of the fifteenth century some attempt was made to reduce taxation, but with little result. In 1450-51 the special impost on the Armenian convent in Jerusalem, and other arbitrary taxes were abolished. The Sultan, at best, was not master in his domain. In 1491 the Governor of Jerusalem sought by a special tax to fix the price of olive oil—the manufacture of soap being then the principal industry of the city—but the oil merchants rebelled. The tax was then levied on the manufactured soap, but the manufacturers protested. This levy was abolished in 1493, and four years later the butchers were relieved of the special tax imposed upon them.

The cities were mostly ruins. The pilgrims were pleased at beholding a devastation they regarded as expressing "the just wrath of God." Superstition was rife, legends were invented wholesale, and the misery of the country, and the trials of a pilgrimage made at considerable risk, merely added to the after-glow of *Terra Sancta*. Fabri dwells in excruciating detail on the discomfort of landing at Jaffa, and the ruins he saw there in 1484: "I have hardly anywhere seen such great ruin as here, and I have wondered how they could have thrown down such thick walls."⁸⁷ There were nothing but caves there. Cæsarea was utterly destroyed. Sidon had been partly rebuilt. A corner of Acre had been fenced in, and amid the ruins there were three hundred houses. Some repairs had been effected in Tyre in 1421.⁸⁸ Lydda was a poor village, mostly ruins. Bethlehem, wholly Muslim, was little better, and Jericho a collection of huts.⁸⁹ Ramleh, larger than Jerusalem, was well populated, being the chief meeting place and trading station for pilgrims; and Gaza was manufacturing silk.

In 1422 the north side of Jerusalem was a mass of ruins.⁹⁰ Though by 1484 it had "many Saracen mosques, Jewish synagogues, and Samaritan tabernacles, . . . a great part of the city is laid waste, and the houses stand in ruins without any inhabitants."⁹¹ By 1495, following the expulsion from Spain, the Jewish population had risen to two hundred families,⁹² and

other Jews were scattered throughout the country. The formal organization of Jerusalem Jewry dates from this period, and the first leader, Obadiah de Bertinoro, ruled it for twenty years.

The pilgrims at this period could visit twenty churches and convents belonging to the Greeks, and four great churches. War and plague had stricken and reduced the impoverished population. Jerusalem was reduced to four thousand inhabitants.⁴³ Agriculture languished, trade was at a low ebb. Public kitchens were introduced, to save kindling wood.

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CHAPTER XVI

THE ADVENT OF THE TURK—1516 TO 1700

THE youngest of the world powers stretched out its hands to possess Palestine and Syria. The Othman Turks, so successful in Europe in the middle of the fifteenth century, were among the races forced from the Trans-Caspian steppes by the great Mongol tidal waves. Slowly the Othmans conquered the lands to their west, and made for themselves new homes. Timur's victory was only a temporary interruption in their great and persistent advance. When in 1453, Mohammad II. sat himself on the throne of the cæsars he consecrated his race to a conquest greater than that which excited Alexander. Defeat before the gates of Vienna forever doomed its westward progress.

At the beginning of the sixteenth century Othman eyes turned eastward. Persia and Mesopotamia were ripe for the plucking; but as long as the Mamluks held the eastern Mediterranean the Turk could not feel secure in the possession of the more eastern lands. In 1479 Egypt accepted the challenge by joining the alliance which attempted to keep the Knights of St. John as masters of the Island of Rhodes. From then the Mamluks fairly held their own. Bayezid II., Mohammad's son, extended his Asiatic empire, but the Mamluks defeated him at Arbella in 1493. The great plague forced a truce in this battle for power.

Selim I., "the ferocious," was without scruple. With the aid of his Janizaries he dethroned his father in 1512, and then proceeded to destroy all obstacles in the path of his ambitions. In 1514 he declared war on Persia, and massacring forty thousand Shiahs en route, marched eastward at the head of an army of two hundred and fifty thousand men. Yet he sought to avoid immediate conflict with the Mamluks. The faction-ridden emirs feared the savage, mystic and narcotic consumer

who ruled Turkey. The conquest of Persia was a direct threat to their position, and feeling that a war might unite their forces they chose to accept the Othman invasion of Persia as a challenge. Palestine was a necessary pawn in this struggle.

Unfortunately for the Egyptians Kansuh el Ghuri was almost eighty years old when the diplomatic imbroglio made the issue one of life and death for the Mamluks. He was a pompous old man, whose powers were failing, when Selim, still professing every desire for peace, sent him the gory head of a Persian noble as a reminder of his presence in Persia, and as a suggestion of what would happen to any who interfered with his plans.

Interpreting the message as a threat, the Egyptian monarch decided on a formal alliance with Persia. When the Turks renewed the war with the Persians, on the borders of Kurdistan, the Egyptians prepared to organize an army, which, by approaching the Turks in the rear, would compel them to cease making war on the Persians. Mecca and Medina might be saved for Egypt.

The Egyptians had little stomach for the fight, the Mamluk beys had to be bribed to support the war; the people were taxed to the bone; and the sultan's capacity was less than his will. On April 21, 1516, the Egyptian army was ordered to muster in Cairo for the campaign. The men and the officers received four months' pay in advance, but there was a shortage of horses and mules, and it was not until May 9 that the army of fifteen thousand Mamluks, later swelled to sixty thousand men by adding Egyptian and Syrian conscripts and the Palestinian militia, got under way.

The Sultan on his charger, garbed in white and bedizened with gold, surrounded by a Nubian guard, and followed by one hundred and fifty camels laden with the state treasures and records, formed a gilded procession, such as war has rarely seen. The monarch, bringing up the rear of his army, made his pompous exit from Cairo on May 16. With him disappeared the glory and prestige of the Mamluk Sultanate.

Passing through the desert of Sinai the Egyptian force reached Gaza on June 5, where the na'ib received the Sultan,

and a five-day festival was arranged. The army then moved along the coast and reached Safed, where another rest period was arranged. Finally it made a triumphal entry into Damascus, where a week's riotous holiday was indulged in.

Meanwhile Selim, whose armies needed no such preparation, left Constantinople and, pausing at Koniah, sent another head to Kansuh, as a warning against interfering in the Persian campaign. Holding high court in Damascus, Kansuh sent Selim an embassy explaining that all he sought was an agreement that the Turks should withdraw from the Persian campaign. Selim declined overtures conducted by an army in the field. He moved rapidly towards Aleppo, and when el Ghuri and his army reached there the Egyptians had either to fight or retreat. Fearful of losing prestige, the aged sultan took his place in the midst of his troops, and at dawn on August 24, 1516, at Marj Dabik, he faced the young and efficient army of the Turks led by their aggressive sultan. A day's battle sealed the fate of the Near East. By nightfall the Egyptians had been wholly worsted, many officers had been slain, the soldiers in full retreat, the aged sultan dead from a paralytic stroke, and his severed head presented to the victor. Numbers, and artillery, used for the first time in Syria, had won.

El Ghuri had included in the panoply of war all the state records, and its treasury. This valuable booty fell into the hands of the Turks. Selim's entry into Damascus was unopposed. He wintered there, and used it as a base for organizing his newly acquired lands. The Druzes and the governors of Safed and Jerusalem surrendered. Ewrenos Oglu was given command of Jerusalem, Mustaner Oglu was sent to Safed, and 'Isa Bey, with two thousand cavalry, went to Gaza, to hold the Egyptian frontier.

The Mamluks had suffered bitter defeat, but they refused to accept it as final. In Cairo they forced one of their number, Tuman Bai, to accept the dangerous office of sultan. He suggested peace with the Turks. But the emirs had been roused to their old fighting spirit by the humiliation they had suffered, and an army of them rushed across the Sinai Peninsula, and took up a position at el Arish. Selim sent his grand vizir,

Sinan Pasha, with five thousand men as reinforcement to Gaza. The clash took place at Khan Yunis on December 21. Sinan feigned a withdrawal, the Egyptians were caught in a wadi, thousands of them were slain. Mamluk authority in Palestine ceased.

II

The new era started with a massacre of the inhabitants of Gaza. During Sinan's feigned retreat the Gazaians and Ramlehites had attacked the Turkish guards. Their misapprehension of Turkish strategy was severely punished. Selim came slowly through Palestine. He was at Gilgal on December 14, and then spent two days in Jerusalem.¹ Evidently the Holy City impressed his mystical temperament, for he returned later.* In a great rain storm Selim made his strange and almost furtive visit to the Holy City. Setting out with a few attendants he rode from Ramleh to Jerusalem where he arrived late at night and inspected the city. The following day it snowed as hard as it had rained the day before. But undeterred by the storm Selim went to Hebron and after visiting the Cave of Machpelah hurried to his camp at Ascalon. When he reached Gaza he pardoned those of the rebels who had survived. From the discussion between Selim and his advisers, it is evident that they had no knowledge of the country. Selim was not deeply interested in what had been reported to him of a waste land, hemmed in between the Syrian and Sinaitic deserts, both of which he was somewhat fearful of crossing with troops.²

Selim proceeded to Egypt. The Mamluks did not yield until after a desperate street battle in Cairo. Heroism and fatalism, the best qualities in the Mamluks, were amply displayed. They

* According to a Jewish legend Selim during his visit to Jerusalem resided in the Court of Justice, overlooking the Place of Wailing. One morning he noticed a woman flinging garbage and slops against the Wall. Offended by her conduct he had her arrested. She proved to be a Christian woman who claimed that she was acting in accordance with a local Christian custom which sought to hide the Wall under a mound of refuse. The sultan investigated the story, and found that other women did likewise. He issued an order prohibiting its continuance. (Related by the well-known Jewish bibliographer, Moritz Steinschneider (*Z.D.P.V.*, IV, 1881, pp. 207-9), quoting Moses Chagis' account of Jerusalem of 1738, and "Shaari Yerushalim," by Jacob Elias Edelstein, of Bialystok (Warsaw, 1873).

did not quail, even in Selim's presence, to warn him that their fate would be that of his dynasty. The young sultan who was induced to surrender was decapitated, and his head exposed on the spike of the Suw'eila gate, from which Mamluk sultans had triumphantly exhibited the heads of their vanquished enemies. A Mamluk traitor, Ghasali, was given command of Cairo, and a group of the emirs given a voice in Egyptian affairs. Because he protested against this policy the Turkish vizir was killed by Selim's order, when the victor reached el Arish on the return journey. It was in such a blood-bath that Selim moved through conquered lands. The rank and file of the Mamluks were enrolled in the Turkish service and as its loyal enforcers of despotic rule continued to plague Palestine for three centuries, Al Mutawakkil, last of the "shadow" caliphs, officially recognized the new ruler, and as reward he was taken to Constantinople and allowed to perish on a pittance.

By October, 1517, Selim was again in Damascus, and it was from there that he made his second hurried and furtive trip to Jerusalem. In January, 1518, he disappeared for a day, disguised himself, and travelling at high speed through the winter rains hurriedly visited Jerusalem and Hebron, and as quickly returned to Damascus. In reorganizing the administration of Palestine, Selim appointed Jan Berdi Governor of Damascus, and Palestine came wholly under his sway. But in 1519 the vizir rebelled against the sultan, and forfeited his life for his presumptuous act. One of the first acts of the new government was to exile the Christians from Nazareth. Gradually the town was dismantled, and for a time pilgrimages to it wholly ceased. Bethlehem, another Christian town, the walls of which had been destroyed in 1489, was further reduced during Selim's reign. The pilgrims were, however, not refused admission to Palestine. Their perambulations were restricted to Jerusalem, Bethlehem, Hebron and the Jordan near the Dead Sea. As the government had little actual control of the country the visitors moved under heavy guard.

By 1519 Turkish officials and soldiery were in evidence in all parts of Palestine. The population was not sympathetic to the change in régime. It wanted peace, and threatened to take

to the hills on the first signs of fighting between Turks and Egyptians.³ The new rule did, however, bring some immediate prosperity to Jerusalem. Fifteen Swiss pilgrims, who experienced all the old restrictions on entering the city on foot and paying admission fees, found plenty of excellent stores in Jerusalem, a wide display of wares, but grieved that the sale of wine was prohibited.

Each trade was confined to its own quarter, but the visitors represented all nationalities, and were numerous. Seventy-seven languages, it is alleged, were in use in the city. The Jews, this diarist noted, had exceptional freedom, "no one dare touch them." Immigration of refugees from the Spanish expulsion was in progress, and these Jews knew Arabic and therefore could mingle freely with the native population. Our observer assigns a reason for the Jewish freedom in Jerusalem. He says it was a reward for aiding the Turks in the war.⁴

Selim I. made no organic changes in the administration of the country; if anything he intensified the feudal system of the Mamluks. The personnel and the titles were changed, but not the system. The viceroy of Damascus became *Berlebey*. Syria and Judea were expected to yield him a feudal income of twenty-four thousand ducats, out of which he was expected to maintain two thousand slaves. His twelve provincial governors, or Sanjaks, were allowed a feudal income of from five to seven thousand ducats each, from their territory. Each of twenty thousand Sipahis, who constituted the local army, were also entitled to income from the soil, besides ten to fifteen aspers a day from the general treasury. To ensure this income much land was converted to imperial domain.⁵ The land register, compiled by Selim's order, was taken to Constantinople where it was amplified by the administrators of succeeding sultans. But Selim's Domesday Book of Palestine came in time to be regarded as a sacred document. Though prepared by Mohammad Tschelebi it brought Selim the title of Lawgiver, and in 1901 it was still the basis of Turkish land law and titles to property.⁶ The *Jizyeh*, or poll tax, paid by the non-Muslims was continued at one and a half ducats. The pilgrims paid much more, and their tolls were a factor in the revenue.

Though he named himself and his successors "Governor of Jerusalem," Selim meted out to Palestine no treatment different than that which prevailed elsewhere in his empire. Syria proper was divided into three provinces, Aleppo, Tripoli, and Damascus, which embraced a considerable section of Trans-Jordan. A fourth province at different periods of Othman history centered either at Sidon or Acre, because the Sidon and Safed officials mostly resided in the port-town. In general, Palestine was divided from Syria at a line north of Sidon.⁷ Administratively the rest of Palestine was a unit, with local governors at Nablus and other places, governed either from Gaza or, at times, even from Jerusalem. But there was neither uniformity nor consistency in the process. When Murad IV., who recaptured Baghdad from the Persians, died in 1640, the line of military sultans ceased, and Turkish interest in the east was, thereafter, subordinate to the struggle for empire in Europe.

Copying the old Byzantine and Abbaside models, the sixteenth-century sultans confined themselves to their capitals. "The Shadow of God on Earth," a title no more presumptuous than those employed in the west, became invisible to his subjects, and the empire was ruled by Grand Vizirs, a few of whom were honest, capable and patriotic, the majority, however, were as short-sighted as they were venal. Individually, the sultans, despite their refusal to learn western tongues, were better educated and more cultured than their western contemporaries. They were more tolerant, if no less prone to bloodshed.

The cool assumption of superiority with which the west mostly regards the east, so that "oriental" has the quality of finality as a term of condemnation when prefixed before any form of depravity, has no warrant in fact. Potentates everywhere matched each other in the exercise of absolute authority. The west preferred the headsman's axe; the east offered the bowstring to royalty, and the sword to the commonalty as an instrument of execution.

Sexual moralists may choose between the reticences of the seraglio, which was an institution destructive to the state, and the public lusts of Charles II. of England, or any of his royal compeers. The sensuality of a Don Juan inspired poetry and

romance in the west; the more orderly polygamy of a Murad is referred to in opprobrious terms. In the broader reaches of imperial policy there was little to choose between east and west. The avarice, slaughter, and destruction involved in the Spanish conquest of America offers no favorable comparison with the conduct of Selim I., who on the capture of Cairo beheaded eight hundred Mamluks, and sent much booty home.

Palestine was dragged down in the general decline of Turkey, which began in the last quarter of the sixteenth century, and which had its origin in a great economic change. Demoralization was, however, an evil inherent in a bad system of administration. By combining in themselves both the secular and religious power, the sultans were absolute and irresponsible, beyond any power vested in an individual European monarch. The Turkish ruler admitted only one master, the fundamental Koranic law, and he probably brought the sword to bear on the interpretation of its texts by the Sheik-ul-Islam and his fellow Ulema.

The state was founded on a military concept. As long as the sultans were soldiers the wars offered them personal contact with wide stretches of their empire. The rule of its one hundred and twenty-five subdivisions from Constantinople was a task beyond them. Palestine, the least profitable and the most vulnerable of their domains, suffered most. Secure in the unity created by religious uniformity, sultans and vizirs blundered in their dependence upon Sipahis and Janizaries to enforce the power of empire. The slave body-guards of the Mamluks were superior, politically, to the life-enrolled mercenaries of the Othmans. For the Mamluk soldier was of the race of his ruler, his emirs shared, and often dictated, the policy of the governor. Every Mamluk was a possible sultan. The Othmans, by a hateful and sanguinary method, ensured the continuance of a dynasty, children always of non-Turkish women, that ruled, with a minimum of court conspiracies, for a longer period than authority has been granted to any other family in the history of the world.

The Spahis were the national and local army. The Janizaries knew no parentage, and no nationality; they belonged to

the sultan. They could uphold, or revolt, as they later did against the imperial will, but they could not play the part of the Prætorian guard. The outlet for the ambition of the Janizary during war was high rank in the army, during peace the assumption of great authority in petty circumstance. The "fiercest instrument of imperial ambition . . . ever devised on earth,"⁸ was no useful weapon for the advancement of civil arts and peaceful pursuits in far-off provinces. The vizir was chosen for personal loyalty to the sultan, for he was the monarch's alter ego. He was the creature of the imperial will; the governor generals were in their turn the creatures of the vizir, and so on down the long line of petty officials, to the *kaim-akam*, administrator of the *kaza* or parish, a group of villages. To this imperial and local absolutism, executed always "by the will of the sultan," there were only two checks. Theoretically at least, the courts of justice were the direct appointees of the sultan, and free from local interference. The governors were held in check by *Capidjus*, or *Mufettish*, a group of special aides, who combined the functions of a civil inquisition, a secret service, and the office of king's messenger.

The provincial governor general, whose title at different periods was Berlebey, Sanjak, Bey, or Pasha, all terms that connoted viceroy, lived with a sword suspended over his head. As general he had to maintain a standing army, he had the right to make war or peace, he was chief civil administrator, and in most of the provinces tax collector. A petty sultan, he imitated his imperial master. His local subordinates copied him.

It was a pompous system in which the color of robes, the number of servitors, and the shapes of headgear played a great part. Its principles were a direct invitation to venality. The poorer countries suffered most.

III

Selim I., who had won his way to power through the murder of father, brother and nephew, died in September, 1520. His death was kept a secret for some days, so that his son, Suleiman, could claim the throne without the intervention of the

Janizaries. From the accession of Suleiman the Magnificent, except for a few incidents, Palestine slid down for three hundred years. The rulers had little contact with it. Not their personalities, but the governor of Damascus, or more often the Sanjak of Gaza, Safed, or Jerusalem, was the all-important factor in local affairs. No new empire set up claims in the orient for nearly three hundred years. For all that length of time none of the rival Christian sects made a serious attempt to gain even local authority in the east. While the west was rising, the east was falling. Palestine ceased to be a world factor.

Secure in their possession of the country, and intensely involved in European affairs, sultans and vizirs drew what revenue they could from the country. They indifferently permitted it to become a prey to local autocrats, to religious squabbles, the endless quarrels of the Red and White Muslim factions, in which partisanship even the Christians participated, and to the destroying influence of Bedouin raids.

During the three centuries that followed the discovery of America, when all enterprise and adventure went west, the Near East became unsettled, its populations more and more nomadic, its petty rulers increasingly aggressive, and the relationship of the Christian world to Palestine practically stereotyped. Technical changes were gradually introduced by governments, and these have been utilized to bolster all sorts of claims for priority of European interest. Contemporaneously these advances were all largely a matter of make-belief, of greater advantage in trade than in religion. The pilgrim came, groaned over the fees, bewailed the "protection" he had to pay to Bedouin or Arab chiefs, exalted the "Holiness" of the country, and increased the objects and places of reverence.

The Jewish experience for the first seventy-five years of the Turkish occupation of Palestine was entirely different. Both Selim I. and his son Suleiman had Jewish physicians. Suleiman was greatly influenced by Joseph Nasi, and his son Selim II. accepted the counsel of the same remarkable personality, and of Solomon Ashkenazi. The welcome accorded the Spanish refugees in Constantinople extended to all parts of the empire, and

led to a considerable increase in the permanent Jewish settlement of Palestine, fifteen hundred immigrated in 1492,⁹ and made it also the object of mystical pilgrimages, by the pseudo-Messiahs of the period. It advanced the sanctity as well as the population of Safed. Turkish and Palestinean local tolerance were not, however, one and the same thing. Not only were governors at all times vexatious in their demands, but the Muslims were often hostile to their Jewish neighbors. The gentleness of 'Omar was the mantle that hid the Arab-Jewish relations for three centuries, the early Othman hospitality obscured the actualities of Jewish life in the Near East for the larger part of four centuries.

From the middle of the fifteenth century Safed, as capital of the province, with its mosques, tombs of saints, schools, baths and markets rose to considerable eminence. By 1520 it had become a flourishing Jewish town, and with two thousand Jewish families¹⁰ increased by the Jews leaving Jerusalem owing to the onerous character of the official and communal taxes, Safed gradually became the center of the mystics, who under the stress of persecution became a dominant force among the Jews. The storm and stress of the Inquisition in Spain and Portugal, and the expulsions, let loose upon Jewry a series of would-be messiahs. The first of these to come to Palestine, in 1523, was David Reubeni, a swarthy dwarf who claimed he was ambassador from an oriental Jewish kingdom. Reubeni apparently created more excitement in Europe than in Palestine, for at Ratisbon he offered Charles V. an alliance against the Turks; but his end was the Inquisition. He had, however, captivated Solomon Molcho, a marrano who became an avowed Jew and joined Reubeni in his schemes. Molcho, who was a whole-hearted mystic, came to Palestine in 1529, and went to and fro in the country preaching the advent of the Messiah, in 1540. He was burned at the stake in Mantua in 1532, rather than apostatise. His creed and his life had, however, a considerable influence on Palestine and upon Safed Jewry in particular.

The Messianic concept had a firm grip on the Safedian Jews. Jacob Berab, who became their first chief rabbi, conceived the idea of re-creating the Patriarchate. He might have succeeded,

such was the temper of the times, had he not offended the rabbis of Jerusalem, who could not be expected to yield place to a Safed teacher. Berab, however, ordained Joseph Caro who settled in Safed in 1545, and died there in 1575.

Caro has exercised unique influence over Jewish thought, even to this day. He combined Talmudic scholarship with mysticism, and devoted a lifetime to the preparation of his great code *Shulchan Aruch*. Herein he regulated, on the basis of tradition, every detail of the orthodox Jewish life, and it remains the great and precise guide to observance. The law laid down from a Palestinean hilltop three hundred and fifty years ago, is still the Jewish code throughout the world. Two related ideas moved its author. Once accepted as the great authority on all religious matters, he would be religious leader of the Jews throughout the world. Such a world response would usher in the Messianic era. The other concept was that this code would serve as the way of life in that era to which all his thoughts were tending. Caro's code was accepted, the sage of Safed was acclaimed, but though he was joined by the renowned cabalists, Moses of Cordova, Isaac Luria Levi, a native of Jerusalem, and Chaim Vital Calabrese; and local history glitters with the names of brilliant mystics, Safed and its environs plunged into contemplative intellectual metaphysics rather than into the bustle of Messianic adventure.

One result of the intellectual ferment was that in 1577 the first Hebrew printing press was established in Safed, and from then on the Palestinean imprint appeared with fair regularity on Hebrew and Ladino (Castilian transliterated into Hebrew with some Hebraic forms) books.

IV

In 1527 Suleiman, who was a great builder and added many great structures to his chief cities, ordered the restoration of the walls of Jerusalem, the improvement of the water supply, especially at En Etam, and the restoration of the Tower of David. He is reported to have given the Jews command of one of the gates,¹¹ but apparently the improvements in the aqueducts created more excitement than the erection of the walls.¹²

The work, as the tablet over the Jaffa gate stated, was not

completed till 1542. For the rebuilding of the walls the ruins of the churches at Emmaus were freely employed.¹³ Archeologists differ as to how much of the new construction was superimposed on the foundations or lower courses of old walls. The so-called Golden Gate, it is agreed, is of Hadrian's era. The Herod Gate dates from that monarch's time, and the lions* over St. Stephen's Gate indicate Norman work.¹⁴

Plague again swept the country in 1533-34 and carried off seven to eight hundred persons a day.¹⁵ Jerusalem was then leading Gaza in population, but most of the smaller cities were in ruins. This condition continued in Ramleh in 1547,¹⁶ and though by 1558 that town was occupied by Moors, Turks, Jews, Christians, and Greek orthodox and circumcised Christians,¹⁷ it was mostly ruins. 1536, however, became a memorable date in the political history of Palestine, for in that year Francis I. signed the first "capitulations" with the Turkish sultan, stipulating for trade privileges and rights of protection over the Latin convents of Jerusalem. It was not till 1555 that European princes obtained the right to make gifts to the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, and another firman was issued to France in 1557. But the "capitulations," which became a model for the relationship between east and west, were the first attempt to reconcile the Sultan's authority with western claims. This treaty was renewed by Louis XIV. in 1673, and by Louis XV. in 1740. Their general tenor remained in operation wherever the "capitulations" were in effect, until just prior to the World War, when every power, except the American government, denounced them as no longer applicable.

The Spanish Inquisition not only forced thousands of Jews to the hospitable lands of Suleiman the Magnificent, but it pro-

* A fabulous story in explanation of the lions is told by Schwigger (p. 307). He attributes the walls to Selim I. and relates that they were built "when he captured Egypt. Over the gate of St. Stephens is the record of the rebuilding with two lions, in considerable bas relief of the size of a sheep, which Suleiman ordered. He had intended to destroy the city. In going across Palestine two lions came in his path, who seemed desirous of tearing him to pieces. He became afraid and cried for help but as the animals were not seen his soothsayer told him he had dreamed. It was a call from God against his design of destroying the city in which so many prophets had lived. Suleiman was then inspired to ignore his plan and to improve the city, and he immediately began to build the walls, and distributed alms among the Christians of the holy city."

duced in 1560 a new Jewish leader, bold and brave enough and possessed of such political capacity that not a few observers at the Sublime Porte described Joseph Nasi, who later became Duke of Naxos, as a would-be "King of the Jews." He and his mother-in-law, Donna Grazia Mendes, who also took the surname of Nasi, were, however, more interested in punishing Christian rulers for their persecutions of the Jews than in restoring the Jewish state. In 1560 the Sultan granted to Nasi the decrepit walls and environs of Tiberias, which vied with Safed as a center of Judaism. Nasi sent Joseph Adret to Palestine to rebuild the walls of Tiberias. The Sultan contributed sixty aspers a day, and eight artisans. The grant bore the Sultan's seal, so as to influence both the governors of Damascus and Safed to co-operate. The local Arabs offered some opposition alleging that they knew of a prophecy which foretold that Islam would fall if the walls of Tiberias rose again. More interesting is the detail that the builders uncovered the ruins of ancient churches, but they filled in these ruins, and covered them over. The church bells they found were converted into cannon. When the walls were finished in 1565, their circumference was fifteen hundred ells. Nasi was sufficiently encouraged to plant some mulberry groves in the environs of Tiberias, and meditated the reintroduction of the silk industry, but he died before his plans, great or small, made headway.¹⁸

V

While Tiberias was being resettled by Jews from the Papal states, whose migration was approved by a papal Bull, Nazareth was continuing its decline. "A house of robbers, murderers, the inhabitants are Saracens. . . . It is a lamentable thing to see thus such a town. We saw nothing more stony, full of thorns and desert."¹⁹

The Muslim ill will to Nazareth amounted to fanaticism. It was not till 1695 that two Christians were allowed to settle there, and even that right was withdrawn a few years later. But the attitude towards the French priests in Jerusalem was no better. About 1559 the Minor Franciscans were expelled from the convent erected for them by Sancia, Queen of Robert

of Sicily, and in 1561 they were permitted on a payment of six hundred and twenty-five sequins to build a convent for themselves. Their exile from the building, which was supposed to cover the tomb of David, was, according to the account of a priest named Goujon,²⁰ due to their refusal to meet the demand of the governor for extra graft. According to another version they were expelled on the request of a rich influential Constantinople Jew who took revenge on them, because they would not permit him to pray before the tombs of David and Solomon, whose burial place tradition asserted was under the arches of their church.²¹

Suleiman had little personal contact with his eastern possessions. But he ordered the extermination of the Mamluks, put down a revolt of the Syrian governor, made peace with Persia, and at the instance of his wife, Roxolana, the heroine of many stories, he killed the children of all his other wives. This was perhaps the one blot on a career that in other respects earned him the title of "Magnificent." He died in September, 1566, and was succeeded by his son, Selim II. (1566-1574), who in his turn was followed by Murad III. (1574-1594), who ordered the execution of all the Jews in his empire, because he objected to their ostentatious garments. Solomon Ashkenazi, his confidential agent, prevented the execution of this decree, which was mitigated to an order that the Jews were to wear small turbans, and not indulge in silk. Sandys, however, infers that the Jews were saved by Esther Kiera, who was the confidant of the Sultan's chief wife, and a great power in Constantinople till 1600, when she was butchered by the Janizaries. During Murad's reign—he was the first anti-Jewish Turkish Sultan—the Jews were persecuted in Jerusalem, Safed and Damascus. The community gradually withered; of seven hundred Jewish widows in Jerusalem, six hundred died of hunger.

A simple English visitor writes of Jerusalem in 1590: "Nothing there to be scene but a little of the old walls, which is yet Remayning and all the rest is grasse, mosse and Weedes much like to a piece of Rank or moist Grounde."²²

At the end of the sixteenth century twelve different taxes were united in the *Kharaj*. These twelve taxes paid by non-

Muslims were (1) *Saliane*, annual levy; (2) *ordu Akchesi*, army tax; (3) *resim Kismet*, heritage tax; (4) *Cherahor-Akchesi*, imperial pastime tax; (5) *Kaza Akchesi*, tax for maintaining governor's residence; (6) *Kassav Akchesi*, meat tax; (7) *Chair Akchesi*, bird tax; (8) *Rab-Akchesi*, communal tax; (9) *Bedel Kharof*, military exemption tax; (10) *felb Akchesi*, for the support of the imperial flocks; (11) tax for imperial couriers; and (12) tax for supplying the sultan with furs. The *Kharaj* included seven types of service to the state—work on fortifications, public buildings, roads, etc., sentry duty, billeting of recruits among others.²⁸

VI

A boy of fourteen, Ahmed I. (1603-1617), was sultan when in the last decades of the sixteenth century Turkey ceased to be a menace to Europe, and became overlord, rather than real sovereign, of the east. Murad IV. (1623-1640), temporarily revived the military glory of the reigning house, but by the middle of the seventeenth century the vizirs were in firm control of the empire. The imperial authority amounted to so little that when Murad's army crossed Syria on its way to Persia, the Pasha of Acre mustered forty thousand men to prevent the army of his liege lord invading Palestine.²⁹

During this period in which the Egyptian Mamluks reasserted themselves, and the Janizaries were free of control, the Druzes of the Lebanon rose to considerable influence. Secure in their mountain fastnesses, their wants few, they were continually fractious without being a too conspicuous element in the numerous local rebellions. In 1588 their insurrection was sufficiently disturbing to induce Murad III. to send Ibrahim Pasha from Cairo to put them down. In this the general was wholly successful, but in order to insure the levying of the annual tribute the Turkish general abolished all the petty Druze chieftains, and substituted a single local authority.

By this means a capable, ambitious emir, Fahr-ed-Din, was advanced to authority. He was not slow to take advantage of his new eminence. By making war on the Bedouins, who in-

fested the country from Baalbec to Acre, he secured the esteem and confidence of the Sublime Porte. Growing in assurance, this Druze Emir advanced on Beirut, ousted the Aga for alleged misconduct, and by an alliance with the Venetians, who had a trading station there, made his first political contact with Europeans. By 1610 Fahr-ed-Din was *de facto* ruler of the Syrian coast. By 1613 he had extended his authority in Palestine, from the Ajoulan to Safed.

Circumstance favored his ambitions. The Pasha of Damascus was making war on the Sanjak of Safed; Acre, which belonged to Safed, was usurped by the governor of Sidon. Though only a petty port, where among the ruins some two or three hundred people lived, Acre was a center for the export of the cotton raised in the Sahil and the valley of Jezreel. The local emirs were annoying the Christian pilgrims, and opposing their visits to Nazareth. Fahr-ed-Din, "small in stature but great in courage," seized Nazareth, made terms with the Christians, and made them pay him a two-dollar poll tax. He next made friends with the Jews, who owned no land, but who, owing to their linguistic ability, were employed in the customs and public service. It was not difficult for the Druze chief to obtain the support of the peasantry against the Sipahis, for these soldiers were all Moors, who preferred service in Palestine to the conditions in their native land. They were employed in the collection of the taxes, and their method of extraction—we meet them in Gaza, enforcing thirty thousand dollars of illegal tribute—was not at all gentle. Fahr-ed-Din, who kept the Divan on good terms by payment of the taxes, coined his own money, and was master, with a minimum of bloodshed."⁵

He brought order into Beirut, began to develop Sidon, and in other ways showed unusual ability. Palestine was at this time part of the Pashalic of Damascus, and the Governor of Jerusalem ruled the city with his foreign soldiers from the Tower of Antonio. The Syrian and Palestinean Pashas combined against the increasing power of Fahr-ed-Din, and the Sultan's suspicions against a possible local rival were easily aroused.

Well informed through his agents of what was in progress,

Fahr-ed-Din took a most unusual and novel course. Instead of waiting for an attack, he put his territorial gains in charge of his son Ali, proceeded to Europe, and visited the court of the Medici at Florence. His hope of gaining western military support for a war against Turkey failed, but the presence of a real eastern potentate in Italy created considerable furore. For nine years the son, Ali, ruled with considerable success, and what is unusual, handed back authority when Fahr-ed-Din returned to Syria and put his newly acquired knowledge to good use. He had a flair for construction, and agricultural development. He built villas, public baths, developed the trade of Sidon, and built a vast palace there,²⁶ but destroyed the port facilities by sinking boats and stones to prevent the Turkish ships entering.²⁷ He was tolerant to the Christians, and encouraged the French to trade. He and his son particularly gained sympathy for their friendly policy at Nazareth. To the end of the sixteenth century that town was nothing but a mass of ruins with two or three Christian inhabitants.²⁸ In 1620 Fahr-ed-Din turned over the celebrated grotto to the Franciscans, and they were permitted to begin rebuilding the church and erect a convent.²⁹ The building operations took thirty years, and the village grew very slowly. The copse of Italian firs which still strikes the visitor to Beirut was planted by his direction, but his mulberry plantations, in various parts of Palestine, have long since been destroyed.

Fahr-ed-Din, however, weakened his hold over the Muslim population by introducing sculptures and paintings, rather than by the burden of taxes which he imposed for his improvements. The Pashas again combined against him, and Murad III., angry at his growing power, decided to crush him. In this emergency all Fahr-ed-Din's European alliances proved worthless. Ali defended the family interest by three battles at Safed. In the third encounter he was slain. Fahr-ed-Din lost courage, and fled. He was, however, induced to come to Constantinople, where in 1633-34 after a show of courtesy, the Druze emir, who was then seventy years old, was strangled by order of the Sultan. His family, however, retained considerable power, and played a rôle in subsequent Palestinean history.

Fahr-ed-Din's policy had only local and temporary effect. The country presented a bedraggled appearance. Most villages were contemptible, and except for the forest in the Sharon, from Lydda northwards, and some fruit orchards and flowery lawns that extended to the Carmel, the land was bare of trees.³⁰

VII

In the plain of Acre, and in the plain of Esdraelon, cotton was being raised which the French were shipping to Europe. Jaffa, still two small towers and some spacious caves, in 1610, began doing some business. The Sipahis were busy extorting, in the name of the sultan. In Gaza they forced the collection of thirty thousand dollars. Misrule brought about the increasing ruin of the cities. During the reign of Murad IV. (1623-1640), the Jews in Jerusalem were bitterly persecuted by an Arab, Ibn Barouk, who had bought the governorship and arrested five Jewish leaders and fined them eleven thousand piastres. Under Ibrahim I. (1640-49), while they were speculating on the advent of the Messiah, many of them were massacred. In 1630, owing to the renewal of the Red and White feuds, Bethlehem was almost destroyed. In 1644-45 Nazareth, which contained some sixty ruined houses, was captured by the Pasha of Safed, and the population fled. To 1658 none but Muslims were permitted to settle there. Later a few Greek Christians were admitted to the town, which became a center for the Turkish cavalry and by the end of the century numbered eighty-one houses.

By the middle of the seventeenth century conditions had somewhat improved owing to immigration. Greeks, down-trodden by Muslim rule in their native country, settled in Palestine, where they scattered all over the country, became the supreme authority in the villages, and numbered about one-fifth of the population.³¹ Five thousand Jews, Spanish, Italian, and German—driven east by oppression, settled in Hebron, Gaza, Ramleh, Nablus, Safed, Tiberias and Sidon. In the last town they were locked at night in their quarter, with the key in the possession of the governor.³² The poll tax was at this time three dollars, so that the government gained considerably

in revenue from this immigration. Food was plentiful, but money so scarce that in Jerusalem the *rotl* (six pounds) of grapes was worth no more than two German kreutzers.

The two ports, Sidon and Gaza, however, had an era of comparative prosperity. Fahr-ed-Din's policy had strengthened the French monopoly in Sidon, and French factors were paying the Sublime Porte two hundred thousand crowns a year in import and export duties.⁸⁸

Raw and spun cotton was the principal export. The imports—cloth, spices, and dye stuffs—indicate the decline in local manufactures. Gaza monopolized the caravan trade. The governors and their subordinates reaped a rich harvest by extracting "presents" from pilgrims, and in sharing in the loot from plundered caravans. In 1625-26 a group of pilgrims, with three hundred camels, came to Gaza from El Arish. In addition to the legal fees, fourteen ducats a head, the visitors were "held up" by the governor for six hundred crowns and a silk robe, for himself, three hundred crowns for the officials, and a tip for each member of the town guard.⁸⁹ By 1650 Gaza had become the capital of Palestine, and it experienced a season of unwonted prosperity. The pasha, who, Morone relates, had planted forty thousand mulberry trees to improve the silk industry, was practically independent of Constantinople. Lord of one hundred and sixty places, the pasha's wise and tolerant rule brought peace and prosperity. D'Arvieux dilates on the splendors of Gaza, the luxuriousness of its palaces, the extent of its gardens, the elegance of its baths, its fine mosques and public buildings.⁹⁰ The eastern Christians were in favor, and felt sufficiently free to erect the Church of the Nativity in Bethlehem, and to hold a Synod there, in 1672, under the Patriarch Dositheus II.⁹¹

VIII

Into this contrast of rich port-towns and impoverished country, there came under the pressure of the Cossack massacres of 1648-56 a new stream of poor Polish and Russian Jews. Puritan England and suffering Orient were both under the spell of Millennialism. The Christians, to whom the date had some

import, accepted 1666 as the year of the Advent. The Jews praying passionately for some great change in their status, also accepted 1666 as the beginning of the Era of the Messiah.

Oriental Jewry was dominantly mystical, and had been so from the time of the Expulsion from Spain. The leading Cabalists were neither poor nor humble. The mint master and tax farmer of Cairo, Raphael Joseph of Aleppo, was one of the most affluent and influential leaders of the cult. From Amsterdam to Baghdad the Jews were attuned to great expectations. Misery and mystery furthered the great mystical swing. Letters from far-off unknown Jewish kingdoms were in circulation, Daniel's prophecies were scanned from end to end for signs. Time and need combined. There was only lacking the man.

Shabby, cowardly, Shabbethai Zebi of Smyrna, well versed in the esoterics of the period, assumed the rôle of Messiah. He created much furore in Turkey, and gained considerable support in Cairo, when he decided in 1663 that he needed the halo of Jerusalem to complete his plans. So he proceeded to Palestine. At Gaza he was hailed by a wealthy transcendentalist, Benjamin Nathan Levi. In Hebron, where Zebi spent two nights, the enraptured Jews enthusiastically stood guard over his dwelling. The women of Jerusalem saw portents in the sky, and observed mysterious flames envelop the hero when he came to Jerusalem.

Zebi spent two years in the Holy City. To his aid came Primo, the shrewdest trickster that ever played secretary to a religious fraud. Zebi fasted, prayed and mortified his flesh, and most unobtrusively gave exhibitions of his piety. He won the esteem of the community by inducing his wealthy Cairo admirer to pay the exorbitant graft which the governor of Jerusalem demanded from them, and he brought back from that trip the prostitute wife he named, "bride of the Messiah."

But neither regal manner, nor outward piety served Zebi in Jerusalem at the crisis of his career. Neither his personal charm, nor the wiles of his secretary, nor the blandishments of his wife availed against the puritanical notions of the rabbis of Jerusalem. They too were mystics, and thoroughly sus-

ceptible to Zebi's ideas, but they had their own notions of the life that should hedge a Messiah, "King of the Jews." Between much psalm singing and prayer, Zebi sang ribald, lewd Spanish ditties. He was moreover in all probability a pervert. In 1665 the rabbis ordered, or induced Zebi to leave Jerusalem. They threatened him and his followers with the ban. Zebi left for the more tolerant atmosphere of Aleppo and Smyrna, where he issued the portentous proclamations announcing 1666 as the beginning of the Messianic era, and himself as Messiah.

The ferment created by Zebi long troubled Palestine, but it is to the credit of Jerusalem that it rejected his claims.⁸⁷ Safed, hotbed of mystics, is not mentioned in the Zebi adventure. Its community had been massacred in 1660, when the town was destroyed by Arabs, and only one Jew escaped.⁸⁸

In 1652 Ali, Sanjak of Safed, had captured all of Galilee and ruled it with a firm hand. He died in 1658; then civil war broke out in the province in the course of which Safed suffered most. The disturbance was only ended by the Viceroy of Damascus taking Galilee and Nazareth under his personal administration. A struggle for power, which did much local damage, took place in 1675, when the Sultan made the governorship of Gaza hereditary. The Viceroy of Damascus objected to this loss of authority. As he supported his protest with armed force he won his cause, and Palestine remained under Damascus on the old conditions.

Maundrell, the English chaplain at Aleppo, drew in 1697 a painstaking but depressing picture⁸⁹ of the effects of nearly two centuries of Turkish rule. Sidon, at which the French had their most considerable factory in the Levant, was "well stocked with inhabitants," but shrunk in area. Tyre was a "mere babel of broken walls . . . not so much as one entire house left . . . Acre a few poor cottages . . . nothing here but a vast and spacious ruin."⁹⁰ Sebaste "wholly converted into gardens,"⁹¹ Nablus chiefly two streets, but full of people, Jericho a "poor nasty village."⁹² The environs of Bethlehem were well cultivated. Cotton was being sown around Nablus. Nazareth was "an inconsiderable village."⁹³ The Plain of Zebulun was delicious and fertile. In Jerusalem, Maundrell

took note mostly of the religious sites and services, none of which impressed him. Of the Easter service at the Church of the Holy Sepulchre he makes this remarkable statement:

"Upon this finishing day, and the night following, the Turks allow free admission to all people, without demanding any fee for entrance as at other times, calling it a day of charity. By this promiscuous license they let in not only the poor, but, as I am told, the lewd and the vicious also, who come hither to get convenient opportunity for prostitution, profaning the holy places in such manner (it is said) that they were not worse defiled even when the heathens here celebrated their Aphrodisia." *

* So Maundrell, p. 474, Buckingham (1822) alludes to these practices. But Dean Stanley ("Sinai and Palestine," pp. 466-9), describing the Easter scenes in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre in 1852 makes no allusion to sexual rites. He refers to the proceedings as "a succession of gambols . . . which an Englishman can only compare to a mixture of prisoner's base, football, and leap frog, round and round the Holy Sepulchre . . . till at last the whole circle between the troops (Turkish soldiery) is continually occupied by a race, a whirl, a torrent of wild figures, like the Witches' Sabbath in 'Faust.' . . . The very violence of the paroxysm proves its temporary character. On every other occasion their conduct is sober and decorous, even to dullness."

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CHAPTER XVII

ERA OF ZAHER AND DJEZZAR—1700 TO 1798

MAUNDRELL, noting that "the Arabs and Turks . . . are nowhere so insolent as in Palestine and about Jerusalem,"¹ explains that the whole Turkish policy was to sow division among officials and populace, "by which art they create contrary interests," and thus prevented the people uniting and throwing off the yoke of Constantinople.² This never-abandoned policy of imperialism, "by division we rule," played havoc with Palestine throughout the whole of the eighteenth century, and nearly lost the country to the Sublime Porte. The pashas were steadily at war with one another, each governing as much as he could hold; tribes fought each other. The borrowed Red and White symbols of Keis and Yemen were permitted to wreck Hebron, ruin Bethlehem, kept Nablus in constant turmoil, and led to affrays with Samaritans and others in small Nazareth.

The decline of Turkey in the eighteenth century, moreover, bore with telling effect on Palestine. After the Hungarians, in 1699, ended Turkish domination over them, each successive sultan lost some portion of his great domain.

Russia, a new power, had entered the European arena and sought possession of the northern littoral of the Black Sea. To advance these ambitions Russia lent its aid to the various Austrian schemes for the partition of Turkey in Europe. Peter, and the more unscrupulous but temporarily successful Catherine the Great, advanced the Slavic cause. Achmet III. (1703-1730), Mahmoud I. (1730-1754), Othman III. (1754-1757), and Mustafa III. (1757-1774), losing much and regaining little, gradually justified that western view which led statesmen to think of Turkey as "the Sick Man of Europe." By 1770 Persia had been lost, Egypt was in revolt, and the Tartars freed in the Crimea. Catherine took from the Tartars what

they had taken from Abdul Hamid I. (1774-1789), who was no more than nominal suzerain of Syria and Palestine.

So embroiled the Sublime Porte gave little thought to Palestine. Its interest in the Near East was limited to what all contemporary writers describe as the "tribute." The taxes were farmed, and the Grand Vizir's annual preoccupation was their sale to the highest bidder. The pasha of Cairo, in 1750, bought his office for two hundred thousand purses, an advance that he recouped in a few hours after taking office.*

The uniform land tax system introduced by Selim I., known as the *miri*, a word derived from the feudal collector, the emir, being a fixed assessment on area, and not on individual cultivators, made the vicious system of tax farming practicable. The pasha bought the quota for cash, before he was invested with all the honors of office, and the privilege of collecting. Having invested ready money he was interested in quick returns in cash. The Pasha had not only to maintain troops, but, at the outset of his brief career, and at intervals, he provided what was courteously known as "slippers" for the Grand Vizir. As recipients of "slippers" vizirs even excelled the curate heroes of mid-Victorian novels. The system was handed down to the ultimate tax-payer. Its effect on him we shall trace presently. Its broad political result added to the incompetence and indifference of the home government and explains the wretched and disturbed condition of Palestine which ended the seventeenth, and ushered in the eighteenth century. Jerusalem alone escaped the worst disturbances which carried off the boldest, devastated the olive yards, and deepened the general misery. But Jerusalem was poor, and the prey of its avaricious and grasping governors.

Hasselquist, the Swedish botanist, munching some roasted ears of green wheat which a shepherd generously shared with him, in the plain of Acre, reflected that the white bread of his northern homeland and the roasted wheat ears symbolized the difference between the two civilizations. Had he known that Mukaddasi boasted in the tenth century of the excellence of Palestine's white bread he might have been still more impressed by the low estate to which the country had fallen in seven hundred years.

II

Against this background composed of incompetent sultans, impotent grand vizirs, grasping governors, culpable ecclesiastics of every denomination, and ignorant population, there sprang into bold relief a daring and ambitious Bedouin chief, who by sheer audacity, great shrewdness, and much ability made his career the epic story of Palestine for three-quarters of a century. Zaher ed 'Omar, a native of Tiberias, was probably illiterate. But he had a wider knowledge and better understanding than were the natural gifts of many rulers in petty western states. He matched cunning against craft, was physically brave and tremendously vigorous. Animated by a desire for power, he fought his way gradually to the possession of all of Palestine, except Jerusalem. He was only vanquished in advanced years, when all forces combined to effect his overthrow.

Palestine was so weakly governed when Zaher was born that his father, chief of a Bedouin tribe that found easy passage through the Ghor, and therefore clung to the western bank of the Jordan, made himself master of Safed and its reduced population of Muslims and Jews. Safed at this time was under the rule of a Druze emir who being poisoned by his successor, one Hydar, the Metawalis revolted. This presented an opportunity which the Zaher family did not neglect.⁵ 'Omar the Bedouin went no further than this aggression, though Jerusalem, dependent upon the pilgrim tolls and trade, was with all its poverty more worth while and as easy a prey as any town in Galilee. Forty years later David's Tower was still mostly ruins, and its six cannon would have had to be recast had there been occasion to use them against an enemy.⁶

Nor was the population unwilling to change masters. The non-Muslims, who paid poll tax, were in the majority. Both Jews and Christians were dependent upon the gifts of visiting pilgrims, but most of this charity eventually reached Turkish hands. The pasha ground the non-Muslims for "extras." Even the annual gift of a new robe to the incoming pasha was such a strain on the resources of the Jewish community that they had to borrow for their share of this gift. Trade was poor, the

goods displayed in the bazaar of cheap quality, and, as evidence of the high cost of living, the price of a bath, one *para*, is mentioned with a groan. Nablus, at this juncture, was the best business center in Palestine.

Petty persecution was added to the woes of taxes and extorted gifts. The Muslims having monopolized green and yellow as colors to wear, the Jews and Christians were forbidden their yellow slippers. An order compelling the Jews to don high black turbans forced them to remain indoors until a supply of the new headgear had been made available. In 1703 the Jerusalemites organized a rebellion. The pasha having left the city on some local expedition the inhabitants closed the gates against him. Faced by a "lock-out," the pasha and his soldiers camped outside the gates and attempted to starve the town into submission. The inhabitants gained a moral victory. The pasha was dismissed, but his successors were equally grasping, and three hundred of the malcontents were forced to flee.

But 'Omar clung to Galilee, and took no advantage of Jerusalem's troubles. He died in the first years of the century, and his property was divided among his sons and brothers. Safed fell to Zaher, and in the process of events he rid himself of his superfluous relatives and with his son, Ali, consolidated the Zaher interests in Galilee.

Theoretically the Viceroy of Damascus was overlord of all Palestine, but in 1737 he had been deprived of Jaffa, and Bethlehem was made an appanage of the administration set up in the port. Though still more ruins than town, Jaffa was doing some business in manufacturing and shipping "Joppa Soap" to Egypt. Jerusalem, Ramleh, Lydda, and Nablus were the manufacturing centers of this commodity.' Because of this petty trade Jaffa was given to the Kisler Aga, chief of the sultan's black eunuchs—there were white eunuchs also, and the local governor was his creature.

Such were the circumstances when Zaher rose to power. In 1730 he added Nazareth and Tiberias to his domain. Nazareth was a very petty place, but Zaher built himself a summer home there, established a harem in it, spent at least one month each

year in Nazareth, and demanded a present for each wife he married, and married at least once a week.⁸ Yet he achieved a reputation for great friendliness to the Christians, and this was obtained by farming out the taxes of Nazareth and two adjacent villages for four thousand piastres (about \$1,200) a year to the monks of Nazareth,⁹ who thus acquired ample opportunity to lord it over the local Muslims. Tiberias was divided between Muslims and Jews, and of no great size,¹⁰ but the Pasha of Damascus having inconsiderately strangled one of Zaher's brothers, the latter fortified the lake-town and made war on his superior.

Zaher's real adventures, however, began in 1742, when Suleiman, Pasha of Damascus, attempted to bomb Zaher out of his stronghold. A merry war ensued, in which the Constantinople government took no part. Emboldened by this indifference of the government to his aggressions, Zaher, in 1749, then sixty-three years old, by a *coup de main* captured Acre. That port was largely ruins, but it served Zaher's purpose. He needed an outlet for his produce, and by establishing trade relations with the French who had a monopoly, the Bedouin gained his point. Acre in his time was shipping, under French supervision, ten thousand bales of Palestinean cotton a year.¹¹ Within six months Zaher had rebuilt the walls, erected a bastion and, within it, a palace for himself. He used the ruins of old structures, and was reported to have found great treasures during his excavations.¹²

To appease the suspicions of the Sublime Porte he paid the tribute, and added the necessary gift for the Grand Vizir. He drained the swamps in the Bay of Acre, and brought over a colony of Cypriots, who, having found home conditions unbearable, were willing and able to cultivate the fertile plain of Acre.

To make himself secure and improve trade, Zaher entered into a series of alliances with the "little shrivelled and swarthy" men of the Hanadiehs and Sachr tribes. For the first time the wild men of the desert came into a walled city to trade camels and horses for commodities, and exchange bows and arrows and matchlock guns for muskets.¹³ Under this fostering care trade

improved, and the cotton production of Galilee increased. Zaher next brought in the Metawalis. This wild sect of Muslims, followers of the Shiah creed, were intense separatists, who not only would not eat, nor drink, nor sit with those not of their creed, but would not even touch a vessel handled by a stranger. They were in some force in the Lebanon, and mostly at war with the Maronites or the Druzes. By shrewdly guaranteeing their tribute to the government, Zaher bought his peace with the Pasha of Sidon and Damascus.

Neither the plague of 1742, which ravaged Safed, and which reappeared in Acre and Sidon in 1760, nor the great earthquake of 1759 seriously affected Zaher's policies. The earthquake was one of the most severe ever experienced in Palestine and Syria. In October, 1759, twenty thousand persons were killed in Baalbec. The shocks terrified the Lebanonese for three months. Beirut, Nazareth and Jerusalem were shaken. Tiberias was destroyed, and in Safed two thousand houses were laid in ruins. When forty years later Volney visited the two Galilean towns, he found one hundred families among the ruins of Tiberias, and Safed a mere village cumbered with broken masonry.¹⁴

But his Bedouin alliances were trouble breeders for Zaher. In 1757 his allies committed the sacrilege of boldly plundering the Mecca caravan. Sixty thousand pilgrims were scattered over the desert. All women were carried off into slavery, and the great wealth of the caravan became booty. Zaher made his peace with the Sublime Porte by retrieving the sacred White Banner of the Prophet and sending it to Constantinople. Later the government had to complain of his alliance with the Maltese pirates. They preyed on Turkish shipping, and landed their treasures at Acre. Zaher pretended to chase the corsairs, but Acre remained a pirates' lair. Zaher kept away from Jerusalem. Nor did he take advantage of the six years of fighting between the Hebronese and the Bethlehemites, in the course of which the water supply of Jerusalem was cut off, and the Greek Catholics of Bethlehem divided with the local Muslims on the merits of Red and White. But Zaher resettled Nazareth with people from Bethlehem.

At length Constantinople began to take action against the rising power of Zaher. With characteristic audacity Zaher demanded that the Sublime Porte approve the glittering array of titles he had assumed: "Sheik of Acre, prince of princes, commander of Nazareth and Tiberias, and Safed, and Sheik of all Galilee." The response was the appointment of one of Zaher's enemies, Osman, to the office of Pasha of Damascus. Zaher thereupon made an alliance with another rebel, who had usurped all power in Egypt.

In Cairo, Ali Bey, Abazan slave of a Mamluk emir, had gradually risen in authority, until he ranked among the twenty-four emirs who had the management of the state. In 1762 Ali Bey attempted to force a revolution, but was compelled to flee to Gaza. In 1766 he suddenly returned to Cairo, slew a number of his enemies, expelled the Turkish Pasha, refused payment of the tribute, began coining his own money, courted the foreign traders, and projected an independent Egypt, with himself as Sultan. Turkey, at war with Russia from 1769, was not prepared to cope with the situation by sending an army to Egypt or Palestine.

While the two usurpers formed an alliance the Sublime Porte added all of Palestine as an appanage to Osman's authority, and made his sons Pashas of Tripoli and Aleppo. Osman initiated a military offensive, but Zaher's son, Ali, caught him and his forces napping, savagely attacked the troops, and Osman barely escaped with his life. More formal war was declared, and the Palestineans were taxed for the campaign. The cities rose in revolt. Ramleh, where there were some French cotton factors, led in 1756; Gaza, unwallled, followed in 1767, and finally Jaffa in 1769, when Osman tortured a Venetian trader until he extracted twelve thousand five hundred dollars from him.

Ali Bey, in alliance with Zaher, thereupon invaded Palestine, proclaiming his intention of relieving the population of the oppressions of Osman Pasha. With five hundred Mamluks the Egyptian usurper took Gaza, Lydda and Ramleh. Osman rushed his troops headlong south. Zaher followed closely in the rear. Between 1750 and 1766 Jaffa had been rebuilt, and had

some five hundred houses. Turks, Arabs, Greeks and Armenians and a solitary Latin monk lived there, to attend to the wants of the thousands of pilgrims who had to be temporarily housed in the port before proceeding to Jerusalem.¹⁶ The people were divided in their allegiance between Osman and Zaher. The latter obtained the upper hand and closed the petty gates against Osman. His troops managed to gain an entrance, and sacked the city. But neither Osman nor his men would face Zaher. They fled, and the Bedouin chief, occupying Ramleh, Jaffa and Lydda,¹⁶ was master of most of Palestine in 1770.

Ali returned in triumph to Cairo and then sent forward his son-in-law, Mohammad Bey, who, because of his richly embroidered tent and showy accoutrements, was nicknamed "father of gold," with four thousand men. Mohammad marched to Acre, and there Zaher assembled his Metawalis, and other allies and, under command of his son, Ali, the force moved on Damascus. Osman called upon the governors of Tripoli and Aleppo to come to his aid. But the Palestinean-Egyptian forces won, and the city of Damascus surrendered peacefully. The citadel, however, held out. Ali was prepared to attack this fortress when Mohammad betrayed the allied cause and decamped with all his men. The Egyptians never ceased riding till they reached Cairo.

Ali forgave his son-in-law's treachery, with the result that Ali was ousted from power in 1772, and he had to flee with eight hundred Mamluks to Gaza, and claim the protection of Zaher. The old Bedouin was equal to the occasion. Jaffa, supported by men of Nablus, opposed Ali's forward march to Acre. Both Nablus and Jaffa were severely punished for their recalcitrant conduct by Zaher, who triumphantly escorted Ali Bey to Acre. In July, 1772, a large army was sent against the two adventurers. They won a notable victory at Sidon and took possession of the town. In the meantime, Ali Bey had made an alliance with the Russians, who, under Catherine the Great, were at war with Turkey, and three thousand Albanians in the Russian service, and much stores, were landed in Acre.¹⁷

Zaher took Tyre, the roadstead of which was choked with débris,¹⁸ and colonized the town with ten thousand men. He

induced the Emir Yusuf, Grand Prince of the Lebanon, who had fought on the side of the Turks to come to his support. Next the Russians were persuaded to take the aggressive, and in 1773 the Russian fleet bombarded Beirut. The town surrendered and its commandant, Ahmed Pasha, whose subsequent career forms a chapter in Palestinian history, was taken prisoner and brought to Acre.¹⁹

Reënforced, the allies proceeded to besiege Jaffa, which after eight months' siege, capitulated in February, 1773. Zaher's nominee was made governor of Jaffa. Ali was induced by his son-in-law to return to Egypt, but south of Gaza Ali was caught in ambush, and killed. In the meantime, Osman Pasha, once more in possession of Damascus, prepared to attack Zaher in Acre. But Zaher's son, Ali, with an army of Metawalis, made a forced march to the Bridge of the Daughters of Jacob and surrounded Osman and his troops at the Huleh. The Turks were again panic-stricken. They jumped into the dark waters of the lake in an attempt to swim to safety. The majority were trapped in the marsh and sank. Osman, however, escaped.

Ali being dead, Mohammad made his peace with the Sublime Porte, retained office as viceroy, and undertook a campaign against Zaher. Bringing an English gunner with him to direct his artillery, he invaded Palestine in February, 1775, and besieged Jaffa, the low walls of which had again been repaired. The Sublime Porte was ready to make peace with Zaher. It offered him and his sons the right to hold all they had gained, provided they would acknowledge the supremacy of the sultan, and as tributaries accept the robes and "tails" that went with formal office. Subserviency irked these Bedouins, and they preferred war. For a time Jaffa held out but eventually it capitulated to Mohammad. The Mamluks entered the town, and slaughtered the inhabitants. In celebration of his victory Mohammad, in May, 1776, erected, on rising ground in Jaffa, a pyramid of twelve hundred skulls.*

* Tolkowsky, in his "Gateway to Palestine," relates that the site of this ghastly memorial is still known as the Hill of Skulls. Some eighty years ago the owner of the property had the ground levelled for an orange grove, and several hundred skulls and skeletons were found a few feet under the surface (p. 147). We may add that skull pyramids were still noted by travellers in the Balkans, in 1832.

The victorious Egyptian now marched on Acre, and Zaher, misled by his minister Ibrahim, fled with his sons into the mountains. The victor died during the march on Acre; his troops disbanded and hastened home. Zaher then returned to Acre. The peace was a brief one. Having come to terms with Russia, the Turkish fleet was free to make war on Zaher, who it is said owed the Sultan a quarter of a million dollars of tribute. The Turks bombarded Sidon and captured the town. This sealed Zaher's fate. In 1776 the Turkish navy came to Acre.

Over ninety years of age, the old warrior faced his enemies, but his army refused to support him. Unable to cope with the situation, the old man mounted his horse and galloped out of the city. A chance shot laid him low. A moment later his head had been separated from the trunk. So ended Zaher. The rebel's head was sent to Constantinople, a gift for the sultan, who publicly exhibited this proof of victory.²⁰

III

Zaher never stretched out his bold hand against Jerusalem. He ignored the tumult of 1757, in which the Holy Sepulchre Church was damaged, nor, except when actually at war, did he interfere with Gaza. These limitations provided much of his immunity. He paid the "tribute" of the areas he controlled, reimbursing himself amply, and it was only at the end of his career that he felt the pressure of Constantinople's opposition to his ambitions. At his death there were practically three Palestines, the country at large from which the *miri* and customs were drawn, the pilgrim routes, and Gaza. Though assailed by the Bedouins when they travelled in small parties, the pilgrims were little incommoded by all the petty wars. They knew best the struggles in Bethlehem, because there the Reds and Whites fought over the fees, and even forced the monks to seek the shelter of their convents.

To the government and to the governors the pilgrim trade was of considerable importance, and they guarded it fairly well. Every pilgrim had to pay the imperial landing fee. This went direct to the Constantinople treasury. Then the pilgrim had to

pay for admission to each city, and a *caphar*, or toll, in each province, besides admission fees to the holy places, and a fixed amount for escort. In the eighteenth century the Jerusalem toll was twenty-two piastres. Hasselquist joined a party of four thousand pilgrims who went to Jericho under an escort of three hundred soldiers.²¹ He estimated that four thousand Christians, mostly of the eastern rites, entered Jaffa each year, and as many Jews. The Armenian Convent in Jerusalem alone could accommodate a thousand persons. The botanist viewed the pilgrim tolls as the best resource of an uncultivated and uninhabited country.²² Half a century later Volney reported that the pilgrims had increased from ten to twelve thousand a year, and estimated that the Jordan trip alone netted the governor of Jerusalem, who supervised all the details and provided the guards, fifteen thousand dollars a year.²³ How large a sum this was, comparatively, is illustrated by the fact that the taxes of Lydda—"one vast heap of rubbish and ruins"²⁴—were sold for thirty-five purses (eight hundred and seventy-five dollars), and Gaza brought no more than forty-five hundred dollars, while the taxes of Jaffa had become the perquisite of the mother of the Sultan.

In November, 1784, two thousand Oriental Christians came to Jerusalem, and stayed to the following Easter. Volney estimated that, however thrifty, between official and unofficial fees and expenses each of these visitors expended eight hundred and fifty dollars in Palestine, the bulk of which reached Turkish pockets.²⁵

The economics of religion had grown in importance from the middle of the seventeenth century. When in 1755 the King of Spain declared himself "protector of the Holy Land, in the Levant" and appointed a royal agent²⁶ to liquidate the debt of the Catholic institutions, the door was opened to the most profitable and munificent graft that ever delighted the eyes of a Jerusalem governor. The Spanish royal agent became, next to the governor, the most important personage in Jerusalem. He was accorded every kind of privilege, even to riding on horseback into the city. Spanish monks obtained ascendancy throughout the country. Spanish became popular, and even the

names of streets were transcribed in the language of the hidalgos. The Spaniards paid liberally for all this show of authority. While the rest of Christendom was very niggardly in its contributions, the Spaniards in eight years sent eight hundred thousand dollars to Jerusalem for the support of the Christian institutions. Most of this money found its way into the possession of the Pashas. A single visit to Djazzar, in the interest of the church at Nazareth, cost the Spanish royal agent over twenty-five thousand dollars.³⁷

Nor was this all. The various sects outbid each other for the possession of the holy places.³⁸ This profited the pasha, who, however, with the ulemas, was under obligation to turn over the surplus of the fees exacted for admission to the Holy Sepulchre. Moreover the churches developed a fair industry in the manufacture of beads, relics and other appurtenances of worship, in which Muslims as well as Christians were employed. The pasha took toll of these sales. About three hundred chests of these curios were exported annually, and the Latin convent in Jerusalem alone absorbed about twenty thousand dollars' worth a year for distribution.

The pasha of Gaza had a larger interest in the graft incidental to the Muslim pilgrimages to Mecca, and he profited immensely from the Bedouin plundering of the caravans. In the last decades of the eighteenth century, Gaza, "notwithstanding its proud title of the capital of Palestine," had been reduced to "a defenseless village peopled by most two thousand inhabitants," whose normal trade was the spinning of cotton, and the manufacture of soap. But its more interesting and profitable business was the disposal of loot. In 1757, two-thirds of the twenty thousand camel loads of plunder—cashmere, shawls, calicoes, muslins, percales, Persian stuffs, coffee and gums—were vended in the bazaar. A string of pearls was sold by an ignorant Bedouin for a fez, worth a few piastres.³⁹

In 1779 a monopoly organized by the Gaza governor over the coffee plundered from a caravan, netted him eight thousand piastres, while in 1784 the robbery of the Barbary caravan was so extensive that the price of coffee in Palestine fell fifty per cent.

The grafters grew immensely rich. The pasha of Damascus, who was smothered in his bath, amassed more than one and a half million dollars. Zaher's minister, Ibrahim, whose fortune was sequestered by the state, was reputed to have accumulated twenty million dollars.³⁰ These officials shrewdly starved the farmers and kept the townsfolk contented by stabilizing the price of foodstuffs.³¹ The peasants and the non-Muslims were their prey.

Nevertheless, the towns were not populous. Jerusalem with its excess of non-Muslims—Jewish widows settled there in large numbers, sure at least of a minimum pittance—numbered perhaps twenty thousand inhabitants. Bethlehem had six hundred arms-bearing males, of whom one hundred were Latin Christians, around three thousand persons all told. Hebron, which had the only glass works in Syria, for the manufacture of beads and trinkets, had about five thousand inhabitants. Nablus may have been a trifle larger. The Muslims there were so fanatical that they would permit no Christian to settle in the town. Despite Zaher's various punitive expeditions against the Nablusians their town was presumed to be the richest in Palestine,³² because its isolation afforded a security of which the rich, disturbed elsewhere, took advantage. Ramleh was a ruin. A little of everything was raised, but the staple crop was cotton. The French took twenty shiploads a year from Sidon; ³³ the rest was exported from Acre and Jaffa.

IV

The anarchy which Volney describes as "still more dreadful than despotism" was the consequence of the tax system and the tax farming.

In theory the *miri* was not oppressive, but its quota system ignored drought, flood, and the actual area under cultivation at a particular season. It was levied as long as the village was at all inhabited: "In the spring of the year the ground of the village is measured by long rods, when every fellah occupies as much of it as he pleases, there being always more than sufficient, the amount of his tax is fixed by the Sheik at the ratio which his number of feddan bear to the whole number of

feddan cultivated that year. . . . The *miri* for each village, though it is never diminished upon a loss of inhabitants, is sometimes raised upon a supposed increase of population, or upon some other pretext."⁸⁴

In 1777 the monks of Nazareth bought the right to tax the town and five villages, Mejdal, Maalul, Yafa, Jebatha and Kneffis, for two hundred dollars. Thirty years later, owing to the rise in the price of cereals and increased ground rents, they paid two thousand five hundred dollars for the same privilege, and the population had not seriously increased."⁸⁵

In 1812 the *miri* and the exactions attached to it was estimated at five hundred piastres (twenty-five dollars) a feddan. The second tax was feeding the soldiers and providing fodder for their horses. This taxed the land about two dollars and fifty cents a feddan. The third tax was the protection money paid the Bedouins who are described, by the author we are quoting, as "the Arabs," as distinct from the Palestinean population. The fourth tax was the extraordinary sums "levied on the village by the simple command issued by the Hakim to the village Sheik to levy three or four hundred piastres on its peasants of the place." In the Hauran where cash was very scarce, "the women are sometimes obliged to sell their earrings and bracelets and the men their cattle."⁸⁶

The sultans regarded Palestine as their personal domain, acquired by the law of arms and war."⁸⁷ The inhabitants, except a few tribes like the Druzes who were never conquered, could not pretend to real or personal property. Even private inheritance reverted to the sultan. Though the peasants were not serfs as under the feudal system, and under no obligation of service, all the country was crown land. When this system of crown land was compromised by grants to nobles, the peasants did not go with the land."⁸⁸ The census, when it was introduced, was employed for imperial military purposes. The individual could not be imprisoned for debt, though the village, as a unit, could be made to suffer for its collective obligation."⁸⁹ The struggle, therefore, was between the land and the tax collector. If the assessor arrived at the right moment he seized what he claimed, and satisfied his demand. The peasant had

no interest in thorough cultivation, or in the fertilization of the soil. His primitive tools were evidence of his poverty and indifference. The like picture was presented in Greece to the middle of the nineteenth century.⁴⁰

If the pasha's business was to secure the most cash within the briefest period of his doubtful term of office, the fellah's concern was to sow only so much land as would produce no more than he could quickly garner, and hide from the tax collector. "In the districts exposed to the Arabs, as in Palestine, the countryman must sow with the musket in his hand."⁴¹ When the Bedouins were at war they pillaged as enemies; in peace time they came as guests, and took what they wanted. "Scarcely does the corn turn yellow before it is reaped, and concealed in *matoures*, or subterranean caverns. As . . . their whole industry is limited to a supply of their immediate wants . . . the peasant lives therefor in distress."⁴² The poorer classes were ruined, and either became a burden to the village, or fled to the city. With the *miri* unalterable those who remained had to make up the quota. Under pressure therefore the whole village was abandoned.⁴³ The fellah was thus reduced "to a state little better than that of the wandering Arab. Few die in the same village in which they were born."⁴⁴

The Bedouins, whose exactions were so costly, were themselves divided between those partially settled, moving around fixed locations, and the wilder tribes, small groups of three or four hundred families, moving from desert to pasturage, according to season. Of Arab race, their conversion to Islam was not of old standing. Mostly they were pagans till the nineteenth century, and even then they were not normally devout. The Wahabi movement, a sort of Islamic protestantism, which objected to the over-worship of Mohammad and his tomb, spread among them about 1807, and has given its name to the group, who still contest for leadership in Trans-Jordan. Apart from their natural instincts for plunder their levies upon the settled population is explainable by their system of tribal government. The sheik bore the burden of hospitality, common expense, and everything else incidental to his office. He received nothing from his tribesmen but the honor of leadership. To

reimburse himself he led forays or exacted "protection" graft.⁴⁴ Theoretically the Bedouins were polygamists. In practice they were mostly monogamists, but as the man had the right of divorce "because he disliked the woman" or for any other reason, the average Bedouin remarried three or four or even more times. The divorced wife had, however, the right of remarriage after an interval.

Though in the early decades of the eighteenth century Acre was still exporting corn to Europe,⁴⁵ the decline in agriculture, and the movement of the fellahs to the cities was already in evidence in 1745.⁴⁶ Volney estimated the population of Palestine, south of the line of Cæsarea to Tiberias, at fifty thousand, in 1785⁴⁸ and credited the Pashalic of Acre, which ran to Nahr el Kelb, north of Beirut and east to the Anti-Lebanon, at three hundred thousand souls, less than half of whom occupied the terrain between Cæsarea and the present northern political boundary of Palestine. The minority of these were settled farmers. The Pashalic of Acre yielded the Sultan's treasury about seventy-five thousand dollars a year, and the crops were worth slightly in excess of a million dollars a year.⁴⁹

The decline can be inferred from the fact that in 1611, Nazareth, then a depopulated area, was estimated to yield five thousand dollars a year. So were landlessness and poor agriculture fostered.

Three results were noted contemporaneously—the abandoning of the farms, the hoarding of money, and the employment of usurers. Volney shrewdly suggests two other results: bad roads and the complete absence of vehicles. The Arab with his ass or camel load was freer from observation, and, if he travelled in company, safer from Bedouins, if he followed private trails, than if he traversed highways.

The protection paid to Bedouins added to the drain on the farmers' resources. That tribute was equal to about one-third of the legal taxes. Broadly the fellah owning a span of oxen paid sixteen dollars a year in tax, and tribute.⁵⁰ In a few places this demand equalled one-half the value of the produce.⁵¹ Under all circumstances it was a large amount. A fellah worth fifty dollars above his plot of ground was

regarded as well off. The sheik, on whom fell the cost of all village entertainment, was regarded as rich if he had five hundred dollars.⁵² Food was coarse, and the poorest day laborer in Europe was better off than the Palestinean farmer. Wives were the greatest luxury. They cost from twenty-five to fifty dollars; polygamy was therefore confined to the rich. The townsfolk had to contribute to the expense of the annual pilgrimage of the Pasha, or governor, to Mecca. The non-Muslims were forced to pay towards this fund at the point of the sword, or even by more cruel oppressions.

Urban property and small farms in the neighborhood of towns did enjoy private ownership. But to escape exactions the Muslim owner frequently resorted to the expedient of declaring his land *wakf*, or ecclesiastical property.* As guardian he was entitled to the usufruct. "But this act has its inconveniences that instead of protecting, the men of the law devour the property, and in this case, to whom are they (the

* The land code was practically unchanged to the adoption of the Ottoman Land Code of 1858 which established three main classes of land, *mulk*, *meiqufe* and state lands. The state lands were divided into three classes:

- 1) *miri*, agricultural land held for the state;
- 2) *metrouke*, pasturage and land held for public use, and
- 3) *mevat*, uncultivated area.

To that date *miri* land could be converted into *mulk* (private ownership) by building and planting. "On becoming owner in this way the individual was under considerable inducement to pass the land into the *wakf* class by dedication. He could do this on terms which would ensure all its benefits to himself and descendants, while his property was protected by the strongest legal and religious sanctions known to Muslim Law from seizure by the State or its officers. The process was one of breaking the control of the State in two stages. Its result was the progressive deprivation of the State of very valuable rights. One of the main objects of the Land Code was to put a stop to this process. . . . Before the passage of the Code . . . these lands were managed by feudatories and farmers, who purchased the right to collect tithes by payment in money or service. The interest of such persons lay in immediate and rapid acquisition—in other words, in extortion" (p. 7). Four kinds of *mulk* (privately owned) were then recognized by the 1858 code:

- 1) sites for houses or pieces of land one-eighth of an acre in extent, appurtenances to dwelling places;
- 2) settled land validly transferred to private ownership;
- 3) tithe-paying lands distributed at the time of the conquest by 'Omar;
- 4) tribute-paying land granted at the same date to non-Muslims.

The transfer of land from one category to another took from ten to thirty-six years, according to its original character. The *miri* owner could not dedicate his rights to a *wakf* without the leave of the sultan, and the period of prescription was thirty-six years. The code of 1858 and the successive amendments are fully detailed in a volume from which this summary is abstracted: "The Ottoman Land Laws," by Judge R. C. Tute, president of the Land Court, Jerusalem, published, Jerusalem, 1927.

owners) to look for redress since the embezzlers of the property are at the same time the distributors of justice? For this reason, the lawyers are almost the only landholders, nor do we see under the Turkish government that multitude of small proprietors who constitute the strength and riches of the tributary countries." ⁵³

If the *miri* system and its extras ruined the fellah, and forced him to become an urbanite, the tax farming, which remained in force to the end of the Turkish régime, was a source of unmitigated political evil. It profited individuals, not the state, for the central government was dependent on the purchaser of vilayet or pashalic. Office, honors, and power in local government went to the successful bidder. The taxes were collected in the name of the sultan. The Pasha, custodian of the authority of the empire, was frequently the instigator of rebellions, organized as reprisals against the Sublime Porte, when officialdom in the name of the sultan made extra demands upon him. So in the name of the sultan he would make special levies, while he fought the government for which he was acting. At first the pashas in addition to the land tax profited from the import and export duties; but the sultans recaptured this lucrative source of income by granting trade monopolies to the Venetians and the French. To assure cash coming into the treasury all officials were changed annually, but frequently pashas had to be removed from office by force. Generally the incumbents held on long enough to re-imburse themselves profitably on their advances. A few pashas died rich. Most of them were deprived of their surpluses by sensitive sultans who thus punished local extortion, but never redistributed the surplus among the original contributors. ⁵⁴

The system moreover was a gamble for the tax farmer. In the Hauran, collection was always difficult, and for considerable periods the villagers paid nothing. Nablus resisted collections for six or seven years. ⁵⁵ The Pasha no doubt recouped himself liberally elsewhere.

V

Zaher was succeeded by a governor whose villainies and cruelties reached such gigantic proportions that his name is

still a by-word in Palestine. Ahmed, his real name, has been lost in the better known description el Djezzar, "the Butcher." He was a Mamluk, native of either Bosnia or Albania, who in his youth sold himself to a slave merchant in Constantinople who in turn sold him to Ali Bey, who took him into his service in Egypt. According to his own boasting, Ahmed there rose to the position of governor.⁵⁴ He came to Syria as a subordinate in the imperial service, and in 1773 Yusuf, Emir of the Druzes, appointed Ahmed to the command of Beirut.⁵⁵ In return for this favor the new governor took immediate possession of fifty thousand piastres belonging to the Emir, and then declared that he acknowledged no superior other than the sultan. Yusuf applied for redress to the Pasha of Damascus, who disavowed Ahmed but did not remove him from office. Piqued at this neglect Yusuf joined Zaher in the successful attack on Beirut. Ahmed was taken prisoner to Acre but managed to escape, apparently went to Constantinople, and returned to take part in the final attack on the Bedouin chief. Immediately on Zaher's death Hassan Capudan, commanding the Turkish fleet, appointed Ahmed governor of Sidon, the technical name of the province, though the actual seat of the governorate was in Acre. The new incumbent quickly devoted himself to the task of killing all of Zaher's relatives, and in enlarging his territory. By 1785 his pashalic embraced the whole of the country between the Dog River and Cæsarea, along the coast, extending inland to the Anti-Lebanon at Baalbec, and the upper Jordan, and Galilee to Nazareth. Jaffa had been incorporated in the Sanjak of Gaza and the town farmed for the Sultan's mother, at a cost of one hundred twenty "purses."⁵⁶ From a letter written by the Latin Patriarch in 1805, it appears that from "1783 Mohammad Djezzar, pasha of Jerusalem and Damascus, began to take by force twenty-five thousand piastres more than it was customary to pay. This continued for seven years, during which he was at different times governor, to say nothing of other exactions with which he was incessantly harassing us. All our representations to the Porte were unavailing as this pasha obeyed none of its firmans."⁵⁷

Djezzar chased Abdallah, Pasha of Damascus, from that city, did some damage to the buildings, installed himself as Pasha of Damascus, and held the position to his death. By this measure he extended his authority so that the Pashalic of Acre virtually ran from Beirut to the Egyptian boundary. But he did not gain this without fighting. He divided the Druzes, and restored Yusuf who had given him his first Syrian command. His wars on the Druzes and Metawalis gained him the favor of the Porte.⁹⁰

A characteristic story of the manners of the times and Djezzar is told in connection with the Druze struggle. In 1789 Emir Yusuf, who had held office from 1776, having been given "the pelisse of command" but not the "ring" that usually accompanied it, decided that it was wise to abdicate, and suggested to his nephew Emir Beschir that he go to Acre, and ask Djezzar for "the ring of command." Djezzar gave Beschir the ring and eight thousand men to reënforce his position in the Lebanon, with instructions to take Yusuf prisoner. Beschir failed in his enterprise, and Djezzar, for a consideration, restored "the pelisse of command" to Yusuf, with instructions to use the eight thousand men to expel Beschir. Thereupon the nephew, who fled to the mountains, offered Djezzar a better price, four thousand pieces; Djezzar countermanded his orders, and agreed to the killing of Yusuf and his minister, Gandour. Djezzar was at Damascus when his Greek chief of customs at Acre confirmed the deal. Beschir set out to carry it in effect. Djezzar again changed his mind, but his reprieve came too late. Yusuf and Gandour had been hanged. Djezzar, annoyed, drowned his customs official, and all his family, and sequestered his property. He then invited Beschir to Acre, to be invested with office. Beschir, when he came to Acre, was with his minister thrown into prison, and kept there until the charms of a female relative of the Druze, and considerable cash, led to his reinstatement.⁹¹

Some of Djezzar's fights in Galilee were not so successful, but in the main he exercised a larger measure of authority than any man prior to his day. He was his own minister, treasurer, and secretary, and, not infrequently, both judge and execu-

tioner. He was moreover his own architect, and his own engineer. While his caprice and arbitrary rule injured commerce and agriculture, so that his chief source of revenue became what he could extract out of the district of Damascus and the Palestinian churches, he built a splendid mosque in Acre, a covered market and the aqueduct which still brings water into the town, and large granaries, using the ancient ruins of Cæsarea for that purpose.

In some few places the people resisted his exactions, but the population had fallen to so low and supine a condition that there is almost no record of real resistance to his butchery and cruelty. His cavalry scoured the country, levying tribute or committing any atrocity he was pleased to enjoin. "The limit of his extensive pashalic . . . might be easily known by the air of gloom and desolation with which it was overspread."²² Sometimes he went out attended by an executioner. If he surprised anyone in what he accounted a fault, he pronounced sentence immediately; the criminal bowed his neck, the executioner struck, and the head fell. His milder forms of punishment were ear cropping, nose slitting, and the gouging out of an eye. On some pretext he threw his Jewish adviser and financier Haim Mallim Farchi, into prison, and administered all three forms of punishment to him. Most of his attendants suffered either one or the other form of mutilation, and as late as 1840, some of these mutilated victims were still alive, and known in Acre.

During the first years of his rule Djezzar went, according to custom, to meet the caravan on its return from the Mecca pilgrimage. His Mamluks, to whom he confided the custody of his harem, forced the gates and abandoned themselves to their passions. Instead of fleeing on Djezzar's return they closed the town gates, and seized his treasure. A compromise was effected, and the Mamluks were permitted to retire to Egypt. Scarcely, however, had Djezzar reached his palace before he ordered the pursuit of the Mamluks. In this he was unsuccessful, but he gratified his revenge on his wives. He had them all flogged and thrown into a broad ditch and covered with slaked lime. From this treatment he excepted his favorite wife.

By his orders she was attired in her finest robes and best jewels, nailed in a chest, and thrown into the sea.⁵³ Scores of such fiendish acts are reported of him. His spirit of cruelty spread. The Nablusians, in 1785, began a persecution of the Samaritans which lasted twenty-five years. Djezzar for his part fiercely persecuted the Metawalis, and their small representation in the present population is probably due to his having beheaded most of those he took prisoners.

In 1791 Djezzar quarreled with the French traders at Acre, Sidon, and Beirut, confiscated their goods, and expelled the merchants from his territories on three days' notice.⁵⁴ This incident subsequently provided Napoleon with a good excuse for the invasion of Palestine. The Butcher, however, turned to the peaceful exploitation of the iron mines of Syria.⁵⁵ He was a monster who, by his cruelties, defeated his own purposes, but on the practical side he exhibited great energy and more intelligence than any of his predecessors.

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CHAPTER XVIII

RE-EMERGENCE OF PALESTINE—1798 TO 1841

FOR nearly three centuries from its capture by the Turks in 1516, Palestine ceased to be a land of world concern. In the great realignment of social, political, economic and even religious interests that followed the discovery, first of America, and then of the continent and islands of the Pacific, all of the Near East was lost to view. The settlement of the American continent gripped both adventurers and governments; the resources of South America and the West Indies changed the commerce of the world.

The overland routes to the Far East were gradually abandoned. The Levantine ports, which depended on what had become historic commerce, lost prestige and yielded position to harbors that looked westward for trade. Piracy in the Mediterranean excited only local interest. Anxious though the western powers were to oust the Turk from Europe, they had no interest in depriving him of his eastern empire. Palestine, Syria and Egypt were more remote in the eighteenth than in the thirteenth century.

Palestine might have been saved from the general economic decline of the Near East, if the old religious sentiment had been maintained. Even in this respect, however, the world had undergone great change. The spirit of the Crusades was dead, beyond resuscitation. Of the Roman Catholics only the Spaniards, who had taken no part in the Crusades, were interested in the Holy Places.

Protestants were only mildly curious about Jerusalem. They sang of Zion, but were content with a Pisgah view of it. To judge by travel books, the Protestants who visited Palestine saw little to admire, and much to disparage. Monks in any garb displeased them; miracles related by Catholics were

fables. Generally the Protestants were ignorant of Church history, for in all their reports the existence of the Eastern schismatics read like discoveries, set down for the amazement of the reader. Much later shrewd Protestant scholars saw in the Eastern heretics a force that could be usefully buttressed against Roman claims. To the end of the eighteenth century, this attitude, however, manifested itself very rarely.

The itineraries of the Western Catholic pilgrims were mostly the work of clerics. The travel records are so uniform that there is a temptation to believe that the Minor Franciscans, who protected and guided these pilgrims, handed them a modified Baedeker of the holy sites of Jerusalem, Bethlehem and the Dead Sea area. With a few necessary changes the descriptions were copied, by those who could afford the luxury of printing their experiences, for the benefit of stay-at-homes.

After the Treaty of Passarowitz, by which, in July, 1718, the Turks ceded territory in Europe to the Venetians and Austrians, the Sublime Porte, by agreement with the youthful Louis XV. of France, issued a firman which gave the Catholics possession of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre and permitted them to repair the churches and convents. This new freedom did not increase the Catholic population of Palestine. There were only a few dozen Roman Catholic monks and nuns scattered throughout Sinai, Syria and Palestine, and they knew no Arabic,¹—a fault they shared with the Turkish pashas.

Nor were their numbers or position improved a century later. The Warden of the convent held office for only three years, and then returned home. Despite, therefore, the large contributions of monarchs, whose annual allowances no doubt ceased with their death, the Roman system defeated its own growth in Palestine.²

The gold crowns that came in a constant stream from 1516, when Henry VIII. of England allotted the Franciscans four thousand a year, mostly reached the pockets of pashas and governors. Philip II. of Spain allowed the monks thirty thousand ducats, and Philip IV. "alone did more in the course of his reign for the support of the Holy Places than all the other princes together in three centuries."³ The regular tribute paid

by the monks was seven thousand piastres, but they always added an equal amount as personal largesse to the pasha. In 1797 Abdallah, Djezzar's nominee, who was Pasha of Damascus, extorted thirty thousand piastres from the monks. His political opponent also demanded "gifts," and the Mufti of Jerusalem, Hassan Elasnad, mulcted the convent for twenty-four thousand piastres. Abu Marra also treated the Latins as a sponge that exuded gold.

In 1805 Abdallah of Damascus hit upon the ingenious idea of claiming that Djezzar had usurped the office of Pasha of Damascus, and that therefore the monks owed him a sum equivalent to all they had paid the "Butcher." "He forced us, with a dagger at our throats," to give him one hundred thousand piastres, and treated the Sultan's written prohibition against such exactions as "a rag of paper." Even the Bedouins, by kidnapping the monks, obtained from the Franciscans the sum they owed the pasha for tribute.⁴ The monks protested their grievances to the Church and to the Christian powers, but there was not a hand to aid them. They paid, and paid.

The Near Eastern Christians provided the overwhelming preponderance of pilgrims and Christian settlers of Palestine. Ten thousand Greek and Armenian pilgrims, each donating about three hundred piastres annually to their churches, or nearly one hundred twenty-five thousand dollars, compared, in 1832, with a dozen Roman Catholic pilgrims and a hundred visitors. The Franciscans complained bitterly of the "vexations and annoyances of the Greeks," who seized every occasion

"for supplanting them, and for getting new rights grants to themselves. Powerful from their immense wealth, as well as from the friends they have at Constantinople, and strong from the number of the professors of their creed resident in Jerusalem; and stronger still, from that of their pilgrims; they are formidable and defy all consequences."⁵

The policy of the Roman Church, in view of the government prohibition of apostasy by Muslims, was to attempt the conversion of Christian heretics. These mutual encroachments produced endless squabbles. The Greek Church maintained the

upper hand, which may explain the wholly negative attitude of the Christians during Napoleon's invasion. Two minor results flowed from these struggles. Contemporary writers vilified the Bethlehemites as the most thievish and licentious of the population, and the growth of the Greek Church, eventually, provided Russia with a reason for interfering in the politics incidental to the election of the Greek Patriarch of Jerusalem.

If travel books offer any guidance, religious zeal was on the decline in Europe. There is no fervor in Maundrell's account, though he was a chaplain. Hasselquist, the first to look at Palestine with the eyes of a trained scientist, was interested in antiquity and history. He writes of religion with a cool detached air. Volney, the French essayist, treated the pilgrimages as part of his study of the politics and economics of the Near East. Seetzen, who came to Palestine half a dozen years later, expressed surprise at the religious enthusiasm of the French poet, Chateaubriand. Buckingham, still later, mortified the religious by detailing the sexual peccadilloes of the monks. There were even travellers, in the eighteenth century, sufficiently versed in archeology and history to doubt the accuracy of some of the most cherished sites. One hundred Palestinian travel books, covering the century between 1725 and 1825, inferentially depict the decay of religious sentimentalism and the rise of a scientific spirit.

The Samaritans were numerically at a standstill. The Karaites dwindled. The Jewish pilgrims and settlers came steadily throughout the century. Quite a number of immigrants from Russo-Poland settled in Safed in 1776.⁶ As the Jews were not permitted to own land, and were kept out of the little trade the country afforded, and the Jewish population of Jerusalem was restricted—a law apparently constantly violated—the total immigration of all races and creeds did not exceed the wastage resulting from plague, which was constantly rife in the country.

The era of Zaher and Djezzar therefore witnessed the eclipse of Palestine. Politically it had been Balkanized, and was lost in the mazes of the Turkish empire in the east.

II

Out of this abyss Palestine was unexpectedly, but permanently drawn by the ambitions of Napoleon Bonaparte and the ceaseless struggle between the French and the British. The interest in the real past of Palestine dates from the archeological expedition which accompanied the French military forces to Egypt, and has remained unabated to this day. Wholly incidentally Napoleon drew Palestine into the network of world politics, and though the effect was produced slowly, it never afterwards ceased to be a pawn in the world play for power. Why the great Frenchman went east is still a moot point. The Directory encouraged its most ambitious and restless general to go to India as part of its anti-British campaign. Napoleon adopted this anti-British note in his address to his troops in June, 1798; just as Sir Sidney Smith in his despatches to London explained that his defense of Acre was wholly animated by a desire to strike a blow against the French. Though in his despatches Napoleon quoted the Bible and Josephus, neither side had any interest in the possession of the country. The eastern empire, which according to some biographers was luring the Frenchman, was far to the east, in India.

Whatever the motive of the adventure, early in May, 1798, a French force, composed of five divisions of infantry, a thousand cavalry, and three thousand artillery, about thirty-two thousand men in all, embarked at Toulon, for Egypt. Napoleon reached Alexandria on July 1, 1798, and defeated the Mamluks under Ibrahim Pasha. Cairo quickly surrendered. The French general showered the sceptical Muslim population with proclamations which bore the dates of the Islamic calendar. Nelson, by defeating the French fleet in Aboukir Bay on August 1, compelled Napoleon to delay his further advance.

The French landed in Egypt as the presumed friends of Sultan Selim III. (1789-1807), but Napoleon's advance into Palestine was the result of the alliance of Turkey and Russia with England against him. According to the reports that reached Cairo, the Turks were assembling an army in Da-

mascus to attack the French in Egypt, by a march through Palestine. Ibrahim Pasha had fled to Acre and joined the masterful, cruel, but personally brave Djezzar. Presuming that port would be the real base of the Turkish offensive, and knowing that the British had command of the sea, Napoleon decided upon an attack on Acre. The 1791 offense of Djezzar against the French merchants was a good pretext for the proposed punishment. Having taken Suez in December, 1798, the French prepared for the invasion of Palestine. The forward move was heralded with a number of theatrical proclamations.

To the Muslims in Egypt, Napoleon had made professions of interest in Islam, and it is clear that throughout his campaign he was guided by what he considered the policy of the ancient Roman legions—freedom of worship for all faiths. He addressed a message on the history of the Sinai peninsula and the Jewish record made there to the monks of St. Catherine; to the ulemas of Jerusalem he wrote in the Islamic spirit; and he made overtures to the Emir Beschir, chief of the Druzes.

The official French *Gazette*⁷ reported from Constantinople, on the 28th Germinal, that Napoleon had invited the Jews of the east to join under his banner for the deliverance of their historic fatherland. No such document exists among the voluminous records of the expedition. Nor is there evidence that the Jews in the east knew anything about this promise. If they did they ignored it. The leading Jewish family, that of Farchi, financed the pasha of Damascus, and aided Djezzar in Acre. Even the chief rabbi of Jerusalem, where the Jews were suspected of being in league with the Frenchman, is reported to have aided in the repair of the city walls.⁸ Napoleon's various religious manifestations in the Near East have provided endless material for his psychological biographers, but there is not a scintilla of evidence to show that the local populations were influenced by these vagaries.

Napoleon had read his Josephus and knew his Cæsar, but neither he nor his officers were informed as to the character of the inhabitants of the lands they attempted to conquer. To him the Bedouins, when he met them at El Arish, were amazing

barbarians. Instead of taking them prisoners or forcing them to join his troops, he permitted them to retire across the Jordan." Contempt is written in the French proclamation against Djezzar. To the wily and wealthy Emir Beschir, Napoleon sent a musket and a message. Beschir kept the musket as a souvenir, and remained neutral in the war. The Druze chieftain was religiously even more volatile than the Frenchman. "He was a Mohammedan and Christian, and would if necessary have been Jew, to obtain the Syrian scepter," writes a friendly critic. At this juncture Beschir was on the highroad to success. He had shrewdly married the widow of a wealthy Turkish prince who had been aided to depart this world through her forethought. She was paralyzed, and sixty-eight years old. Beschir was thirty-six, and styled himself "Prince of the Lebanon," a title he would not risk for Napoleon's doubtful adventure.

The few days the French spent in Tiberias were halcyon days for the non-Muslims there, for the Muslims had fled on the approach of the enemy. As soon as the French retired the Muslims came back and pillaged freely.¹⁰

The Arabs were excited by Napoleon's presence, and the Bedouins, who however never joined his forces, sang songs about "Barte," as they called him, long after he left the country.¹¹ The Turks were, however, in control, and they warned the Jews and Christians of Jerusalem, Safed, Tiberias, and Damascus, that a French victory would be followed by a massacre.¹² There were reprisals in Safed after the French retreat; the fear inspired by the invasion was not forgotten in the Christian villages for many years after.

Jerusalem was not on his "line of operation."¹³ Napoleon had no intention of attempting its capture. He could spare no more than thirteen thousand men of his Egyptian army for the Palestine campaign.

General Kléber was given the principal command, and among his aides were Berthier, Lannes, Murat, and Junot, who afterwards became famous as generals. With two thousand camels, and three thousand mules and donkeys, the French crossed the Sinai desert. At El Arish the Turks had mustered

two thousand men. General Lagrange advanced upon them on February 7, 1799. The garrison surrendered, and the French found no difficulty in reaching Khan Yunis by the evening of February 22. Four days later they were at Gaza, the garrison of which had retired to Jaffa, leaving a large quantity of stores and supplies. Napoleon who wrote an eloquent despatch about Samson's gates spent two days in Gaza organizing its civil and military administration. On February 28, he was at Esdud (Ashdod) and then took Ramleh, largely a Christian village, the garrison of which had also retired. After pillaging Lydda he occupied Jaffa, where the first real struggle took place.

On March 5, the French invested Jaffa to the south and east, with Kléber's division holding the Aujah to the north. The Turks made a sortie from Jaffa, and carried the heads of their foes into the town. The governor put a price on such trophies, and so stimulated the defense. The bombardment of the town, commenced on March 6. After four hours of gunfire the walls were breached, and the French entered and began a massacre which lasted thirty hours.¹⁴ Men, women, old folks, children, Christians, Turks, all that had a human face became victims of the carnage. Eventually the garrison yielded. Four thousand soldiers were taken prisoners, and three days later they were all shot.¹⁵

After a week's halt in Jaffa, during which the army became infected with plague, the French began the forward march on Acre. A feeble attempt was made by some Turkish cavalry and Nablusians to halt the French, but the skirmishers were driven into the hills, and Kléber advanced to Haifa, where he garrisoned the abandoned fort.

The British had landed a small artillery force in Acre in December, 1798, but most of its members died of the plague before Napoleon reached the town. The British squadron under Sir Sidney Smith having discomfited a small French naval force went to the aid of Acre, and Djazzar. French Royalists and British gunners co-operated with the "Butcher." Throwing field-bridges across the Kishon and the Na'aman the French, on March 18, reached the outskirts of Acre. The

first assault was a failure and costly in lives. The Turks made a sortie, and following the example set in Jaffa, brought in the heads of their enemies.

Day by day during the siege the "Butcher" sat in his palace in Acre, surrounded by a heap of gore, distributing money to all who brought in the heads of French soldiers and mutilated the French wounded, taken prisoners.¹⁶

After the siege had been organized and Shefa 'Amr occupied, Napoleon sent Murat with a small force to seize the fortress of Safed. Junot occupied Nazareth, and on April 4, Vial captured Tyre. The Turks now advanced from Damascus and crossed the Jordan. A skirmish took place at the Bridge of the Daughters of Jacob. The Turks, however, succeeded in capturing Tiberias and the village of Lubieh. Junot with his small force tried to recapture the village, but he was outnumbered, and forced to retire to Kfar Kenna. Kléber hurried to the aid of Junot, who, however, found it expedient to retire to Nazareth.

The Turks next attacked, but they quickly fell back on Tiberias and Beisan, and besieged Safed. Holding Tabor and Afuleh, the Turks massed over twenty thousand men in Galilee to oppose the French generals. On April 15 Napoleon left Acre and went to the support of his subordinates. The French, principally opposed by Turkish cavalry, formed three hollow squares. Napoleon with six hundred men attacked the enemy in the rear. One day's battle at Afuleh settled the fate of the Turkish army. Some thousands were killed, the rest fled. Incidentally to this battle Napoleon visited Nazareth, but he returned speedily to Acre.

The French had landed some stores at Jaffa, but they could not oppose the Turkish fleet, which Napoleon learnt was coming also to the support of Acre. He attacked that port on eight occasions, while his troops were being shelled by the British naval guns. "Daylight showed us the French standard on the outer angle of the tower."¹⁷ The French had succeeded in making a breach in the walls wide enough for fifty men to enter the town, but while the British admiral had determined "to defend the miserable town at all costs," Napoleon had con-

cluded that he could not afford the loss of men involved in its capture; "the multitude of spectators on the surrounding hills . . . wait only to see how it ends to join the victor."¹⁸

Napoleon histrionically told Murat, "The fate of the East depends on that petty town," and on May 10 decided to raise the siege wherein he had lost five hundred men and a thousand wounded. But his men were also suffering from plague. The retreat began on May 18th. By the 22nd the French were at Tantura, and two days later at Cæsarea. The French commander and his troops reached the frontier without interference. At Jaffa, where they rested a few days, Napoleon inspected the wounded and plague-stricken prisoners and soldiers. According to many British authorities before his departure he ordered the poisoning of all the victims of the plague.* Between the Carmel and Gaza all fortifications were levelled, and all villages and crops burned. Berthier describes the immense plain as one blaze of fire.

The local historian of Jaffa¹⁹ is in doubt whether the destruction affected the orange groves, though he inclines to the belief that some were destroyed during the campaign.† Napoleon reached Egypt without interruption and secretly embarked on August 23, 1799, for France. Kléber remained in Egypt, and in 1800 at El Arish signed with Sir Sidney Smith a treaty for the evacuation of the French from Egypt. So ended a strange and purposeless interlude in Palestinian history.

III

"Exactions and persecutions were so common that it was said the Jews paid for the very air they breathed."²⁰ The sack

* Sir Sidney Smith in his despatch of May 30, 1799, refers to the "inhuman massacres at Jaffa." Dr. Witman in "Travels in Syria" (Chap. viii, p. 27) confirms the incident. John Barker, "Syria and Egypt under the Last Five Sultans of Turkey," Vol. I, p. 239, says five hundred prisoners were slain by Napoleon's orders at Jaffa.

† Hasselquist, the Swedish botanist, mentions no oranges at Jaffa, in 1751. Nor does Seetzen in 1804-7. The latter calls attention to the melon trade (II, p. 69) and points out that the fruit gardens of Jaffa had been destroyed five times in fifty years (II, p. 71). Hasselquist does not refer to oranges south of Sidon, and credits the Jaffa district with the finest fig trees in the Levant (p. 140). Richardson (1816-18) refers to oranges in the Jaffa gardens, but is more enthusiastic over the local melons ("Travels in Mediterranean lands," II, p. 208). Benjamin Disraeli (Monypenny's life, I, p. 71) wrote glowingly of the Jaffa oranges and other local fruits, in 1831.

of Safed, after the French retired, could not have surprised the local Jews. In Nazareth the Christians were no better treated. They left the town. Even as late as 1801 Djezzar sent troops to destroy the standing crops in the environs of Nazareth. Ramleh, however, bore the brunt of the Muslim wrath. During the three days of pillage, the local Latin Christians were either murdered, or lost all their property and fled.²¹

The "Butcher," encouraged by these popular manifestations, resolved on the massacre of all the Christians in his dominions, and he actually sent orders to this effect to Nazareth and Jerusalem. Sir Sidney Smith on being apprised of Djezzar's scheme sent him word that if a single Christian head should fall he would bombard Acre and set it on fire. His word, says Burckhardt, "I have often heard both Turks and Christians exclaim, was like God's word,—it never failed."²²

The British admiral made a hurried trip through Palestine, but remained in the east for several years. In 1801 he marched his marines from the coast into Jerusalem and Bethlehem, with drums beating and colors flying to settle an interdenominational Christian squabble. In 1815 he returned and entered Jerusalem in triumph. He did much to enhance the reputation of the British in the country, but the only gain to the inhabitants from the new state of affairs was that after Napoleon's invasion the Jews, who had been driven out of commerce²³ and were therefore dependent upon charity, were more free to enter Jerusalem. The rule under which their settlement in Jerusalem was limited to two thousand was quietly abrogated. Although this was the era of Mallim Farchi, who from 1800 to 1820 was regarded as the *de facto* ruler of Palestine, neither Jews nor Christians gained to any notable extent.

The cruel iron hand of Djezzar was on Palestine to the hour of his death, but the brute set an unusual example in his devotion to Acre. As soon as peace was declared he began rebuilding the town, an example that was later copied by Abu Nabbi, the governor of Jaffa, who erected a pretentious fountain, the bazaar, and otherwise made that port more habitable. In both cases the ancient ruins of Cæsarea and Tyre were utilized for the new construction.

Grateful, however, as the Porte was for Djezzar's defense of

Acre against Napoleon, it was anxious to get rid of him as Pasha of Acre. He was amassing great wealth, and he was politically dangerous. His quarrel in 1799 with the newly appointed Grand Vizir had been so violent that the Turkish expedition against Napoleon was delayed until the incident was settled. With a gift of one hundred thousand piastres Beschir induced the Grand Vizir to name him chief of the Lebanon. Djezzar countered by naming the two sons of Yusuf. In 1802 Sir Sidney Smith forced Djezzar to recognize the claims of Beschir.²⁴ This quarrel had increased Djezzar's prestige, Ismail Pasha who had been with the Turkish army and escaped a gunpowder explosion at El Arish joined the "Butcher." With the support of Nasif Pasha, Ismail was appointed governor of Marash. But his extraordinary exactions there compelled even the supine Constantinople government to intervene. Its policy was characteristic. Ismail was promoted to the governorship of Sivas, but en route to his new post he was, at government instigation, ambushed. Escaping assassination he fled to Djezzar.

Nasif Pasha found his way to the same camp. As a reward for defending Cairo against Kléber he was banished. The "Butcher" accepted the support proffered by both rebels, and clapped them into prison. He was thus sure of both of them, and proved his loyalty to the Porte. Constantinople then approached the problem of removing Djezzar by indirection. It named Abu Marra, Pasha of Damascus. The new incumbent proceeded from Cairo to his post, but Djezzar stopped his progress at Jaffa by besieging the town and demanding that his nominee, Abdallah, should be named Pasha of Damascus. He took Ismail out of prison and gave him command of the troops. Ismail conducted a siege that lasted ten months, by which time both Marra and the Porte agreed that Abdallah should be governor of Damascus.²⁵

By 1802 Djezzar had brought all of Sidon, Damascus and Tripoli under his sway and was nominal viceroy of Egypt. He needed only the pashalic of Aleppo to realize his ambition of ruling the Near East. But in 1803, when over seventy-five years of age, he was stricken with tertian fever, and lingered

some nine months. During this period he exceeded his previous record for fiendish cruelty. Most of the local governors were cast in prison, and official after official mutilated.

On his deathbed he ordered the execution by drowning of twenty-three of these governors, and the order was promptly carried out.²⁶ A longer list of victims was found under his pillow after his death, which occurred on May 7, 1804, in the thirtieth year of his devastating rule. The only redeeming feature in his horrid career is that he collected a library of some three hundred books.²⁷

Djezzar had named as his successor, Ismail Pasha. Nasif Pasha, who claimed the office, and was also in prison when Djezzar died, on his release proved too weak from long incarceration to offer real opposition. Ismail, therefore, took the resources and honors of the "Butcher."

The government at Constantinople had anticipated Djezzar's demise by secretly naming Ibrahim, Pasha of Aleppo. No sooner had that official learnt of Djezzar's death than he set out to possess himself of the treasures hoarded in Acre. He left Aleppo on May 21, 1804, with three thousand men, and reached Damascus, which offered no opposition to the new governor. But Ismail did, and he successfully defied the Porte and all its orders. He remained in possession, and held office for a year, until he fell a victim to treachery,²⁸ and was succeeded in 1805 by Suleiman, who exhibited his loyalty to Constantinople by besieging Jaffa, in which Abu Marra had taken refuge, instead of proceeding to Jeddah on the Red Sea, to which place he had, against his will, been appointed Pasha. Jaffa capitulated and Abu Marra was sent a prisoner to Damascus.²⁹

IV

Suleiman preferred the emoluments of office and the pleasures of the harem to the business of governing Palestine. He therefore turned over the administration to his minister, Hayim Mallim Farchi. This ear-cropped victim of Djezzar treated the people with great gentleness, and did his utmost to induce many of those who had fled the country, owing to

Djezzar's cruelties, to return. Under his fostering Jaffa experienced one of its brief revivals, and Acre gained in trade.

Lady Hester Stanhope, the mysterious and romantic Englishwoman who during this period was settled in the Lebanon, and who made the first attempt at archeological excavations in Palestine, wrote much in praise of Farchi's benign rule. In Galilee he was his own tax farmer, and gave considerable freedom to a Greek, named Katafego, in the same direction. Compared to the period of Djezzar, peace and comfort was restored to Palestine during the reign of Suleiman. Actually great poverty prevailed, and the Bedouins moved about unchecked. Napoleon had however opened western eyes to Palestine, and it attracted a new type of visitor, including Princess Charlotte of England, who found Palestine a land of romance, oriental color, and even sex intrigue.

Farchi, however, played the kingmaker once too often. In 1815 he brought to Acre Abdallah, son of Ali, Pasha of Tripoli, to be educated as the successor of Suleiman. Abdallah became Pasha, but the king and the kingmaker differed over the wisdom of rebuilding the fortifications of Acre. Farchi thought the plan would rouse suspicions in Constantinople. Whereupon Abdallah ordered his chief of police to throw the minister out of the window. Farchi, with a broken spine, was then tied in a sack and cast into the sea, on August 20, 1820. When the body was washed ashore Abdallah even refused the Jews permission to give it burial.

The three brothers, Salamon, Raphael and Moses Farchi of Damascus, swore vengeance. Having obtained a *fetva* from Mahmoud II. (1808-1839), they made an alliance with the Pashas of Aleppo and Damascus, and with their own retainers set out to make war on Abdallah. While they hurried with their troops from Damascus, Abdallah crossed Galilee with an army. The opposing forces met at the Bridge of the Daughters of Jacob, and in the battle that followed Abdallah was defeated. The Farchi contingent marched towards Acre through the winter rains of 1820. But Abdallah had Salamon Farchi, chief of the expedition, poisoned, and then induced the allied pashas, for a sufficient consideration, to return home.

These internal struggles did not reach out beyond the localities in which they happened. It was otherwise with the serious fire of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, which occurred on October 11, 1808. It is remarkable that no contemporary charge of incendiarism was made in connection with this conflagration, which in five hours destroyed the porphyry columns on which the cupola rested, causing its fall. Of the interior of the fane only the subterranean chapel of the Discovery of the Cross, and the Chapel of the Sepulchre, escaped destruction. An immediate appeal was made throughout the world for funds to restore the Church. The Porte gave authority for its rebuilding which was carried out by an architect from Mitylene, who began operations in May, 1809. But the local Muslims opposed the work, and even attempted an insurrection, which may or may not have been instigated by the officials, who profited from the rebuilding to the extent of two-thirds of the million dollars raised to rebuild the church. The Latins, Greeks and Armenians fought over their respective rights and privileges in the building.* The Greeks, who provided much of the funds, remained in control.

V

Abdallah quarreled continuously with the Pasha of Damascus and kept the country in a turmoil owing to his intrigues with Beschir, the Druze Emir, who had been chased out of the Lebanon by the vengeful sons of Yusuf. Fate was kind to Beschir. Sir Sidney Smith rescued him and took him to Alexandria, where he found favor with the Viceroy Mehemet Ali, who cultivated all those subjects of the Sultan who were tainted with rebellion. The Viceroy forced Djezzar to restore Beschir to power. At a family council, held in the Lebanon, the knife was more conspicuous than the pen. After a family treaty was signed Beschir seized his relatives, gouged out their eyes, killed them, and hanged their bodies in the public squares. Beschir

* Geramb, I, p. 74; Stanley ("Sinai and Palestine," p. 462) says: "After the great fire of 1808, which fire itself the Latins charged to the ambitions of the Greeks, two years of time, and two-thirds of the cost of the restoration, were consumed in the endeavors of each party, by bribes and litigations, to overrule and efface the others from the places they had respectively occupied in the ancient arrangement of the Churches."

then divided authority with a brother, Hassan, but soon murdered him and ruled alone. In 1819 the Druzes, annoyed at Beschir's levies, rose, but the Emir riding at the head of his troops cut the enemy down, and with a dead man hanging from every tree, and cash from every malcontent village, desolated the Lebanon.

The Pasha of Damascus at this juncture attempted a levy on the Lebanon. Beschir came to the rescue of his own people and, aided by Abdallah, raised an army and fought the Damascus governor. The Pasha of Acre in support of his Druze friend forged a firman deposing the Pasha of Damascus. The forgery was detected in the nick of time; Abdallah was sentenced to death, but the sentence was not carried out. Beschir without waiting for word from Constantinople fled. This time the French saved him. In 1822 he returned to Palestine and with his friends laid siege to Acre, and attacked the town unsuccessfully from July, 1822 to April, 1823.

In the latter year Abdallah indulged in a bolder but characteristic piece of villainy, which as it concerned money stirred the Porte to great anger. Incidental to a rebellion in Cyprus, in which Abdallah had played a part, he taxed the Palestinian Christians so severely that they sold their children to meet the demand. The Porte at the same time demanded a special levy from Abdallah. To meet this Abdallah raised a forced loan of seven hundred purses (seventeen thousand, five hundred dollars)* from the Jews, Turks, and Christians. No sooner had the imperial messengers departed with this sum, than another ambassador arrived, demanding more money for Constantinople. Abdallah responded by killing the ambassador and his retinue. He followed up this act of rebellion by having the bearers of the seventeen thousand, five hundred dollars murdered⁸⁰ and imputed the blame of this crime on the Pasha of Latakia, and restored the stolen cash to his own treasury. Again the Porte demanded his head, but he locked himself within the walls of Acre and defied the combined armies of the Pashas of Damascus, Aleppo and Adana. Mehemet Ali

* This may have been a much larger sum. Between 1800 and 1890 the piastre gradually fell from forty cents to a nickel in value.

finally acted as mediator, and Abdallah was fined seventy-five thousand dollars, and the expenses of the war. Beschir was restored as chief of the Druzes, and he undertook to arrange with Abdallah for the payments. Their joint attempts to squeeze the money out of the peasants led to rebellions and executions in 1824. Jerusalem too rebelled, but was captured by a ruse.

The impotence of the Porte was most marked during this period of insurrection and murder. In 1822 ten per cent of the population of Syria perished in an earthquake that extended from Aleppo to Baghdad, and the ruins were left for years where they had fallen. The main concern of Constantinople was the war with Greece, and in 1826, Abdallah was restored to the good graces of the government he had fleeced and betrayed, by sending his Albanian troops to the defense of Beirut, which was bombarded by a Greek flotilla.

It was in this distressing and poverty-stricken period that Palestine was visited by writers who saw the glow of the orient, who were enamoured by its romantic coloring, and who revelled in its bizarre presentation of life. Disraeli, who visited Palestine in 1831, standing before the Tombs of the Kings, visualized the historic pageant of the people from whom he was descended. He saw Jerusalem in a blaze of emotion that left its mark on all his subsequent writings, and even on his policy as a British statesman. The Frenchman Lamartine was moved to an ecstasy of another kind. To him all the bizarre characters, their pompousness, and barbaric splendor, made a great appeal.

A new page was about to be written in Palestinian history, one in which the poverty and squalor were to be unrelieved by the vestiges of barbaric splendor. Lamartine³¹ caught the spirit of the past in limning the Emir Beschir who began his public career in 1789, and who was still to play a rôle in the wars of Ibrahim Pasha, and who in his seventieth year married a fifteen-year-old Circassian slave whom he had purchased in Constantinople.

"A fine old man of a quick and penetrating eye, a fresh and animated complexion; he wore a grey undulating beard, a white robe secured

with a cashmere girdle, covered him all over, and the bright handle of his broad poniard rose breast high out of the folds of his robe, and showed a sheaf of diamonds the size of an orange."

Nor was his audience chamber less magnificent:

"a splendid saloon, the pavement of which was of marble, and the walls and ceilings painted in vivid colors and elegant arabesques by artists from Constantinople. Water spouts murmured in the angles of the apartment, in the farthest recess of it behind a colonnade whose intercommunications were grated and glazed was seen an enormous tiger, reposing with its head resting upon its crossed paws. In one-half of the apartment were secretaries in flowing robes, with silver inkstands stuck like a poniard in their girdles; Arabs richly attired and armed; negroes and mulattoes waiting the orders of their chief, and some Egyptian officers dressed in European vests with a Greek cap of red cloth with a long blue tuft falling upon the shoulders."

VI

Sultan Selim had been deposed, and was succeeded by his son, Mahmoud II., the offspring of a beautiful Creole, Made-moiselle du Lac de Reverz, a cousin of the Empress Josephine. This relationship to Napoleon enhanced the gift of the lady when she was sent to Selim by the Dey of Algiers; "it influenced her son's demeanor. Mahmoud "affects all the affable activity of a European prince . . . taxes his subjects unmercifully . . . dresses like a European," "and was very busy quelling court and other conspiracies. From a monarch of this disposition Palestine could expect no relief from taxes or fighting pashas. Abdallah in 1825-6 even ventured an attack on Jerusalem, but his two week's bombardment did no damage "and in 1827 the whole country rose against the attempt to raise troops by conscription. The presence of many foreigners, the sharp division in character between the people of the coastal plains and those of the mountain districts," "and the oppressive tax farmers forced the people to look elsewhere than to the government and its officials for aid.

A new star had risen on the eastern firmament—Mehemet Ali, viceroy of Egypt, who had frequently interposed his personality in Palestinian affairs. He was in open rebellion against

the Porte, and his policies had the good will of the population. The most remarkable personage who ruled Egypt from the days of Bibars, Mehemet Ali was born in Kavala, a small Albanian town, in 1769. After a number of adventures in which he betrayed little scruple he was, when twenty-nine, enrolled in the army organized to fight Napoleon in Egypt. He won distinction in a night attack on the French, and advanced rapidly in rank. His real opportunity, however, came when the Turkish admiral invited the Mamluks to visit his ship, and fired on his guests, capturing all who were not killed. The British, disgusted, withdrew from Egypt. In the civil war that followed, Mehemet Ali made himself master of the Cairo citadel, and in 1805 compelled the Sultan to acknowledge him governor of Egypt.

As he said of himself, he rose by the sword, and was willing to fall by it. Wholesale massacre was still an accepted political weapon in Turkey. All Europe applauded the destruction of the Janizaries by Mahmoud II., in 1826. The Viceroy's pursuit and extermination of the Mamluks was less well received. He began his rule by ambushing hundreds of them and pursuing those who escaped through every village in Egypt. In 1811 when he was preparing for the war on the Wahabis, in which he was thoroughly successful, he invited four hundred and sixty Mamluk notables to a feast in the Citadel, and slaughtered all but one of them. The one who escaped this dramatic massacre jumped his horse over the walls. Mehemet Ali offered no apology for this, or a great many other butcheries.

He attempted to play politics with England and France, who were still opposing each other in the Near East, but Great Britain was pro-Turkish, and France merely toyed with him. In 1807 the British landed a force in Egypt under Colonel Wauchope. Mehemet Ali immediately gave battle, and a few days later "rode in triumph through the streets of Cairo between avenues of British heads, which were stuck on stakes at regular intervals along either side of the main streets."

Illiterate but shrewd, thoroughly loyal to the widow he married in his youth, he waded through blood towards the goal of his ambition—absolute independence. Nothing less satisfied

him. He was the most constructive genius that arose in the Near East for centuries, and he has had no equally capable determined successor. This "prince of monsters" rebuilt Alexandria, cut a canal, pulled down a good deal of Cairo and rebuilt it, erected wharves, constructed a port, called navies into existence, founded a national system of education, developed commerce and industry, and visioned in no uncertain terms the regeneration of the East.

An absolute monarch, who was not only the state, but the monopolist of all its trade, he was the first ruler to sense the use of steam—it was still in a primitive state of development—as a factor in empire building. In a bold attempt to industrialize Egypt, he introduced mass production, and actually, despite his grinding taxes, created prosperity, maintained peace within the borders of Egypt, and, by shrewdly manipulating cotton, indigo, silk and coffee, became a great factor in the world markets.

At the height of his power he was one of the dominating personalities in the world. The Sultan feared him, and to Manchester, which he challenged by his cotton spinning and weaving, he was a menace. Even the American markets felt the pressure of his monopoly in commodities. He amassed no personal fortune, but used millions in money and men to fight a world not in sympathy with his craving for power.

In 1822 the Sultan, fearful of his Viceroy's loyalty, demanded that he join in the war against Greece. Mehemet Ali named his price, a free hand in Egypt, and the governorship of Palestine and Syria. The Sultan formally agreed. Thereupon Ibrahim, Mehemet's capable son, sailed with a fleet and an army. The Greeks were beaten, but England and France intervened and their conjoint fleets caught the Egyptians napping, and defeated them in Navarino Bay, in 1827. Undismayed, Mehemet Ali built a new fleet and demanded that the Sultan fulfill his pledges. Seizing thousands of negroes in Kordofan, the Viceroy introduced conscription, employed French officers to train his men, and prepared for the invasion of Palestine.

Abdallah of Acre, who twice owed his life to the intervention of the Egyptian ruler, was treacherous in harboring in the

Palestinean port six thousand Egyptian fellaheen who fled from Mehemet's exactions and cruelties. This was the pretext for the invasion of Palestine, in which Ibrahim Pasha, Mehemet's son, led his troops in the name of the Sultan, but wholly against the monarch's wishes. Nor did Mehemet Ali permit the Sultan to misunderstand his motives and purposes. He gave the Turkish ambassador a schedule, naming point by point where his army would definitely halt if the Sultan yielded.

VII

Ibrahim led a well-organized army, and was one of the ablest soldiers of his age. He had the good will of the Syrian Muslims, though like his father he protected his Christian subjects from arbitrary taxation.⁸⁶ The soldiers in Jerusalem in December, 1831, when they received news of the invasion, announced that they would never surrender "unless the arrears of their pay, owing by the Pasha of Acre" were discharged.⁸⁷ To the Christians of Palestine, Ibrahim issued an order to pay no tribute to Abdallah or the Pasha of Damascus. The Egyptian army crossed the desert while the fleet went to Jaffa, where all forces were mustered. Jaffa surrendered without a blow. Jerusalem capitulated immediately. The population was, however, in great straits. The reservoirs and conduits connecting with the Pools of Solomon were broken, so water was scarce. Abdallah collected all the food he could lay hands on for the siege of Acre, and Ibrahim took what he could for his army. The population was therefore on starvation rations.⁸⁸

As the Turks were reported coming from the north, Ibrahim, whose name spread terror through the Turkish ranks, marched quickly into Syria and met the enemy at Homs. Guarding that line with a large force he withdrew twenty thousand veterans, made a forced march through Beirut, Sidon and Tyre, and invested Acre. With the advice of a French artillery expert thirty-five thousand shells were thrown into the city during a protracted daily bombardment. On May 26, 1832, Ibrahim stormed the walls. All the fugitive Egyptian fellaheen who survived the siege were sent as prisoners to Cairo, and, as Ibrahim reported to his father, "*one man more*," Abdallah the

pasha. Ten to twelve thousand men and thousands of camels were buried in the ruins. Acre was a heap of broken stone. But Ibrahim began the work of rebuilding immediately: "Every day his followers dug up from the ruins hundreds of the dead, half decomposed—and the putrid exhalations corrupted the air throughout the whole plain." ³⁹

The capture of Acre excited the whole world, and raised the prestige of Mehemet Ali and his son. But Ibrahim quickly returned to Homs. Damascus and Aleppo were taken, and the great schedule continued with precision. In winter the undefeated son of the "Lion of Egypt" crossed the Taurus mountains, and met an army of one hundred thousand Turks, captained by the Grand Vizir.

By his victory at Koniah on December 20, 1832, Ibrahim brought the Sultanate to the verge of ruin. The road to Constantinople was open, and Mehemet Ali believed "God was willing" that his son should progress further. But for the interposition of the European powers, particularly Russia, the Turkish empire would have been destroyed. A treaty was, however, concluded on May 4, 1833, by which Syria and Palestine were ceded to Mehemet Ali provided he admitted he held them as vassal of the Sultan, and paid an annual tribute of eight hundred and seventy-five thousand dollars for both provinces.

The actual rule of Palestine was undertaken by Ibrahim, as governor of Adana. He installed himself in Damascus, where he, unlike most orientals, proved to be both affable and frank in discussion, but he was more frequently in camp than in the palace. He immediately threw open Damascus to the representatives of the European powers, and gave himself heart and soul to the revival of the industry and commerce of the country. Ruled with an iron hand, the robbers were for the first time held in check. Cotton, indigo and sugar were planted on an extensive scale, and part of Syria covered with mulberry trees, to increase the trade in silk. Experts were brought in to develop coal and iron in Syria, and the Jordan valley was covered with plantations. The country was, however, far from peace. Ibrahim had dealt firmly with the Druze chief, Beschir, and not only forced him to fight under his command, but for

political reasons induced that accommodating chief to become a Christian.⁴⁰ This kept the Druzes in a constant turmoil with the Metawalis.

Ibrahim had barely taken over the administration before he started draining the country financially. The government accorded itself a monopoly in silk; a poll tax of five dollars was demanded of all inhabitants over fourteen years of age. This brought in a million dollars from Syria and Palestine—in addition to a million dollars from the old poll tax paid by the Christians. The tax on olive trees, five piastres, was five times the old charge, and the administration somewhat ingeniously aided the inhabitants to pay, by loaning them money, at twenty-two per cent. interest. One result was that many Christians placed themselves under foreign jurisdiction, in order to escape Ibrahim's various demands.

In 1834 he ordered a conscript levy on all the inhabitants of the country. The Nablusians rose, the Trans-Jordan Arabs crossed the river, the inhabitants of Hebron and Bethlehem joined the insurrection, and in May, while Ibrahim was at Jaffa, forty thousand fellaheen rushed on Jerusalem. Only six hundred men had been left to guard the city, and these fled to the citadel. The mob entered, and looted the city for five or six days. The Jews were the worst sufferers, their homes were sacked and their women violated.⁴¹

Ibrahim came from Jaffa with five thousand men. But the Arabs seized the passes, and hurling stones and rocks prevented the passage of artillery and cavalry. The Egyptian general hacked his way through and cut down the rebels in every direction. Having relieved Jerusalem he attacked Nablus, killed three hundred of the ringleaders, routed those of Bethlehem, and proceeded to Hebron. The insurgents here fought a pitched battle outside the town. Defeated, they retired behind the fortifications, which Ibrahim stormed. The escaping rebels were chased by the resolute Egyptian into Trans-Jordan, and were finally cut up at Kerak, which suffered seriously in the fight. After suppressing an outbreak in Safed, Ibrahim administered a severe drubbing to the Druzes. Order was restored and the conscription proceeded.

The gain in this strong-arm policy betrays itself in the higher values immediately established for the privilege of tax-farming. The Greek, Katafego, who played a considerable rôle in local affairs, bought the taxes of Nazareth and twelve villages for fifteen thousand dollars a year, triple the price paid two decades previously.

It was during Mehemet Ali's governorship of Palestine that the land was once more opened to western influences. In 1838 Moses Montefiore made the second of his seven historic visits to Jerusalem. In 1835 an Irishman, Costigan, who is buried in the Latin Cemetery in Jerusalem,⁴² made the first attempt to navigate the Jordan to the Dead Sea. In 1837, G. H. Moore and W. G. Baker explored the Dead Sea and discovered its depressions; in 1838 Robinson, the American archeologist, laid the foundations of modern Biblical research in the Holy Land; and in 1840-41 Major Scott and Captain Symonds, of the British Admiralty, surveyed the entire coast of Syria and the Dead Sea. In 1839 the first foreign Consul, British, was appointed in Jerusalem—an Italian had been British vice-Consul in Jaffa, the only evidence of British prestige in the country. A distinct note of progress was manifested in all things.

There was nothing mild or deeply kind about either Mehemet Ali or his son, but they were the first patriots the Near East had known for centuries. So far from being hostile to foreigners and to new ideas, they welcomed both. The Christians for the first time were treated "as on an equal footing with the Muslims and enjoyed rights and security in person and property which they had never known before."⁴³

Ibrahim admitted the Christians to the local councils, ordered the courts to accept their evidence as valid, and abrogated all distinctions in dress. The old Muslim families banded themselves together to reject or nullify these decrees. Ibrahim, however, made short work of the dissatisfied. The Turks were used to "exhale the afflatus of their supercilious and domineering fanaticism over the degraded *rayahs*,"⁴⁴ and did not propose to give up their privileges. Notwithstanding Ibrahim's pro-Christian policy, the powers exerted every possible influence against him. In the squabbles between Maronites and

Druzes, which a generation later resulted in massacre, deft European hands labored to provoke the storm. "To a people so long accustomed . . . to the languid and disorderly rule of the Turks the rigorous administration of Ibrahim Pasha might well appear tyranny." "To the inhabitants the great annoyance was the conscription enforced by the Egyptian ruler. None of the racial elements in Syria and Palestine were spared. This equality was a bitter pill for the Druzes, who sought but failed to get practical aid from the Maronites in the rebellion they organized.

During the Easter display of the miraculous fire in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre in 1835, a panic occurred in which three hundred persons were killed. The dead were dragged out of the building, and the service continued."

On January 1, 1837, another great earthquake occurred. It extended from Beirut to Jerusalem. Both Sidon and Tyre were severely shaken, and suffered damage. Rumaish was completely destroyed and thirty persons were killed. Jish suffered a similar fate, and one hundred and thirty-five persons were buried in the ruins. But Safed suffered most. Large cracks and rents were visible in the earth and rock slopes of the town, and remained open for weeks. The castle was entirely thrown down. The Jewish quarter, built on the steepest incline of the town, toppled over, burying its four thousand inhabitants in the debris. Only six hundred survived. Eighteen months later, Safed was still little more than a mass of ruins, in which some temporary houses had been erected." Tiberias was also much shattered. For weeks after the first convulsions, tremblings of the ground were experienced, and the volume of water in the hot springs rose considerably." One thousand of the inhabitants of Tiberias perished. Sejera and Reinah were destroyed, but Kfar Kenna, a neighboring village, was wholly unaffected. Suffurieh experienced no damage, and Nazareth reported only minor injuries."

Plague troubled Palestine constantly from 1837 to 1840. Montefiore and others note that they were forced to camp outside the city. Of hygiene little was known, and the understanding of the dangers of infection was still so primitive that the

victims of cholera, which afflicted upper Galilee in 1838, were thrown into the Jordan. These were, however, almost normal experiences in Palestine. The conscription was the sore spot. Ibrahim's attempt, against world intrigue, to bring the iron heel of military discipline on Druzes, Metawalis and Bedouins was constantly contested. When the fellaheen were drawn into the army they seldom came back.

VIII

Turkey from the signing of its treaty had repented its bargain with Mehemet Ali, and incited all the fractious elements of the population against him. The Egyptian monarch had no scruples or compunctions in his intrigues with the western powers. Nor did they exhibit any higher moral principles. Palmerston, the British premier, was ready to bring the Near East under the British flag; but he was still more concerned to keep Russia from obtaining control of Constantinople. The English and the French quarrelled incessantly over this issue, in which Palestine and its population were not even pawns. The voluminous despatches that lead up to the war on Mehemet Ali betray little interest in Palestine or its sanctity. When the British finally concluded that they could not come to terms with the French over the future of Turkey, they called in the aid of Prussia and Austria. While Mehemet Ali was still hoping for the aid of France, for which power he had a sincere regard, the Germans were for the first time drawn into Near Eastern affairs. German officers taught the Turks the "goose-step." War was inevitable, and Mehemet Ali called in French officers to train his Egyptian and Syrian conscripts.

The Turks, having abetted a rising of the Druzes in 1839, which lasted until the end of the war,⁵⁰ invaded northern Syria. At Nisib, in the province of Aleppo, on June 24, 1839, Ibrahim fought one of the great battles of the nineteenth century. Among the German leaders of the Turkish forces was von Moltke, the hero of the Franco-Prussian War, who made an early survey of the Tigris and Euphrates. With consummate military skill Ibrahim routed the great army opposed to him. Once more the road to Constantinople was open.

While the battle was being fought in Syria, Mahmoud II. died in Constantinople, and a youth, Abdul Mejid (1839-61), was named his successor. Ibrahim moved north. The Grand Vizir, panic-stricken, sued for peace, and offered Mehemet Ali the hereditary governorship of Egypt and a life office for Ibrahim in Syria. Father and son rejected these offers. They claimed recognition of their independence. The European powers counselled Turkey to refuse the Egyptian demand. The British and the French fleets sailed to the Dardanelles to protect the Sultan from Ibrahim and his approaching army—and to oust Russia. There was nothing to oppose Ibrahim's advance on Constantinople but the fear of the joint action of the powers. It stayed his progress. The devious game of international politics was played so hectically that in the celebrated "Damascus Incident," in which the Jews were accused of having murdered a priest for ritualistic purposes, the French premier, Thiers, found himself in the awkward position of having to defend the torture of the accused, while all Europe ignoring political intrigue, urged the release of the unhappy prisoners. The Consul General in Egypt, M. Cochelet, did his utmost to prevent Mehemet Ali from releasing the innocent victims of this calumny, and from issuing to Sir Moses Montefiore and Adolph Crémieux a firman holding the Jews blameless of this old accusation.

On July 15, 1840, England dropped France from the coalition, and with Russia, Austria and Prussia formed a quadruple alliance to aid Turkey. The French talked of crossing the Rhine and revenging Waterloo, but there was a fleet of German boats on that river. The Russian fleet entered the Dardanelles. "Four most powerful Christian monarchies, Austria, Great Britain, Prussia and Russia . . . coalesced in order to reduce to general obedience a petty Mohammedan tyrant the vassal of the Ottoman Empire and . . . still stranger . . . a fifth European government—France—in order to protect a Pasha, subject of the Sublime Porte . . . seriously meditated a war with the other four powers."⁵¹

Mehemet Ali stubbornly rejected the terms offered by the coalition. British and Austrian squadrons then sailed into

Beirut under the command of Commodore Napier, bombarded the town, and distributed twenty thousand muskets among the Syrian mountaineers.⁵²

Ibrahim, who had eighty-five thousand troops under his command, immediately retired from Syria, and went to the defense of Acre. The allies, who had brought the Druze chief, Beschir, into the land campaign, sent their fleet to Acre. Ibrahim, who was suffering from jaundice, was prepared to stand a siege, but a chance shot in the first hours of the bombardment sealed the fate of Acre, and lost Palestine to Mehemet Ali. The great powder magazine was hit and exploded.

"For a space of four hundred yards in diameter, where once stood the magazine, all now is bare . . . the very fragments of stone and masonry appear as if ground to dust by the terrific shock. The only object which seems to have escaped destruction is the stem of a solitary date palm."⁵³

The grand mosque was destroyed, and about fifteen hundred men were killed. This was the principal reason for the immediate evacuation of the fortress. So in November, 1840, Acre again fell, and in its fall decided the fate of the country. In 1850 the port was still a mass of ruins.⁵⁴

The British now led in "a war of liberation." Commodore Napier issued proclamations to the people to throw off the yoke of Mehemet Ali, and made much of the *Hatti-sherif* of Gülhanè, which had been issued as a message of liberality by the youthful sultan.⁵⁵ By this measure the age-old Kharaj was abolished in principle, but the tax survived in the form of a payment for release from military service. The ulemas of Damascus were persuaded that Ibrahim was an infidel, the Nablusians rose, insurrection spread throughout the country, and after massacring some of the garrison the populace took possession of Jerusalem and Jaffa. Mehemet Ali was stupefied by the turn of events, but his son went on fighting. The British as they proceeded southward destroyed the crops and trees in the plain of Sharon,⁵⁶ and Ibrahim, as he went east, destroyed, sacked, and burnt freely.

He was pursued into Trans-Jordan, and for a time was surrounded in Kerak by the Bedouins, but he broke through, and

reached Gaza with the remnant of his army on January 31, 1841, and by February 16 was across the border. The *sine qua non* of the allies, the expulsion of Mehemet Ali from Syria and Palestine, was accomplished. He submitted to the Sultan, and remained hereditary viceroy of Egypt, agreeing to pay three hundred sixty-three thousand, six hundred thirty-five dollars as annual tribute.

"Syria produces silk, cotton and wool, three staple articles of British demand,"⁵⁷ wrote one commentator on the war, but this raw material ceased to be available, for, as another observer writes, "the united wisdom of Europe thought fit to destroy despotism and restore anarchy in the country."⁵⁸ Only one man profited from the war, the Emir Beschir. In October, 1840, he surrendered to the British and, being banished to Malta, carried off a million pounds in cash and jewels to his place of exile.⁵⁹

The rest of the population were in deep misery. The olive yards were gone, there was no grain, the silk trade decreased, commerce with Egypt ceased, even the cotton looms had been burnt. The Metawalis infested the roads from Beirut to Acre, and Mustafa Abu Ghosh, a brigand still remembered around Jerusalem, waylaid and murdered two government officials, and threatened the impotent pasha of the Holy City that he would attack it, if his lawlessness was interfered with.⁶⁰

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CHAPTER XIX

EUROPEAN RIVALRIES—1841 TO 1861

THE costly and sanguinary ejectment of Mehemet Ali, the best governor the country had had for many years,¹ served the immediate exigencies of high diplomacy, but nothing else. Reviewing his share in it, a few months after the fall of Acre, Commodore Napier bluntly told the British House of Commons that he was not proud of the job. Palestine, however, had permanently become part of that Eastern Question which was exercising the statecraft of Europe. Western powers, with Muslim interests, professed great solicitude for Islamic susceptibilities, but in practice they were enhancing the rights, privileges and powers of the Christians of the Near East. Automatically these non-Muslims in the Near East, in exchange, advanced the national prestige of the countries to which they were sentimentally attached.

The Eastern Question was not an artificial issue, though it was often discussed in terms that suggested that it was the nightmarish invention of statesmen. Russia felt that her imperial destiny carried her into the Mediterranean, as well as into the Punjab. Constantinople served as a stopper in the neck (Dardanelles) of the Russian bottle, the Black Sea. As long as the Turks ruled in Constantinople the Russian fleets, mercantile and naval, would have to pass out, if at all, under hostile guns. Russia bluntly proposed the partition of Turkey, with herself in possession of Constantinople. The Turkish empire was slowly dismembering; the Czar in 1844 suggested hastening the process. To the western powers the Czar was frank, to the Sultan the Russian ambassadors were for a time more subtle, they claimed the right to protect the Christians in the Turkish empire, a policy that of course involved Palestine.

The British interest in the east had been, and long continued, anti-French; but the British were still more definitely dominated by a fear of the expansion of Russia, from the Danube to India. The French were the only western power that had pretensions to interests in Palestine and Syria. Their old trading rights, and the protection of the Holy Places, had been abandoned at the time of the French Revolution. The French, however, feared Russian rivalry in the Mediterranean. Thus opposing each other at every turn, the two western powers joined forces in their opposition to Russia, and to her presence in Constantinople.

Turkey was the helpless victim of this political chess game. The Sultan naturally leant on the western agreement to maintain the integrity of the Turkish empire—a decision which gradually involved the still greater problem, the maintenance of the European equilibrium.

Abdul Mejid was more firmly seated on his throne than some of his predecessors, and was regarded as so liberal that he was sometimes called the "Christian Sultan." Had he, however, been a man of great ability he could not have forced great changes upon his people. For a quarter of a millennium the Turks exhibited "their supercilious and domineering fanaticism" over their degraded Christian subjects. In simpler language the Christians had not been permitted to look a Turk in the face,² and had to step aside when he took the middle of the road. Ingrained Turkish habits, therefore, offered excellent pretexts for foreign interference in local affairs, and for more sonorous protests to the Porte.

Crediting England and France with extraordinary long-range vision, and the determination and capacity to adhere to their policies, and ignoring all the fluctuations and mutations of a century, it can be said of Great Britain, in forming the Holy Alliance in September, 1833, and France in opposing it, that both achieved their purpose, one hundred years later. Viewed, however, contemporaneously, in the light of incidents and proclamations, and political discussions, both powers pursued policies of aggressive muddling; the act of to-day in no wise forecast the events of the morrow.

The diplomatic improvisations of the powers kept Palestine

on edge for thirty years. Ibrahim Pasha had won nothing for himself or his father by his emancipation of the Christians. The Muslims were in no wise disposed to believe in or accept as bona fide, the *Hatti-sherif* of Gülhanè (the name of a royal resort), or any of the documents that succeeded it. The *Hatti-sherif* had been extracted from the boy Sultan, Abdul Mejid, on November 15, 1839. The *Tanzimat* of 1841 not only repeated a good deal of the fervor of the previous document, which it reaffirmed in its entirety, but it contained some grandiloquence peculiar to itself: "Muslims, Christians, Israelites. You are all subjects of the same emperor, children of the same father." This opinion no self-respecting Turk could hold to be true, for if he was tolerant towards the religious ideas of the submerged non-Muslims, he held the Arabs, whose language he refused to use, in unspeakable contempt.

These decrees theoretically abolished the arbitrary and unlimited power of the state, and its officials. They proclaimed the perfect equality of all Ottoman subjects, of whatever race or creed, and provided for the regular orderly and legal government of the country and the security of life, property, and honor for all its inhabitants. The ruling classes ridiculed these proclamations, and the government did nothing, on its restoration to power in Palestine, to reassure the native or Muslim population. The pashas, walis, mutasarrifs, and agas, appointed by Constantinople, were of the old type; the tax farmer was still in the land; the exactions levied on the Muslims, for the Mecca pilgrimage, were of the old standard.

Therefore, the change wrought by the political emergence of Palestine was, from the viewpoint of the Muslim population, for the worse. They were repressed and depressed. They lost caste in their own eyes; their self-importance diminished; even their freedom to vent their prejudice on the foreigner, or religious alien, gradually disappeared. As the Sublime Porte, with much less ability to put the policy into effect, borrowed the practice of raising armies by conscription, the population was worse off, in 1850, than it had been in 1830. The effect of the changes, viewed through native glasses, was that conditions grew worse throughout the century.

By 1839, when the British appointed their first consul in

Jerusalem, a step quickly imitated by the other powers,* full advantage was taken of the divergence of faiths and customs to promote political prestige, and to add to the normal complications. The crudities of Turkish jurisprudence, and the ignorance and cupidity of officials aided considerably in the active operation of the "capitulations." In Palestine consuls were more aggressive than ambassadors would have dared to be, for they were fostering the modernization of the country in the interest of foreigners. Taking their cue from their home governments, which throughout this period was generally bellicose, the consuls became the most important and pompous officials in Jerusalem and Damascus. Their reports almost unconsciously treated Palestine as a subject country, a mood that, with few exceptions, found its way even into the reports of American representatives. New vistas, political and economic, were opened up to the western world. By 1900 the consuls were "society" in Jerusalem, and quarrelled over precedence.

It needed but one step, the bringing of the non-Muslims under the direct influence of the consuls, to consolidate and aggrandize their authority. The British did this semi-officially for the Jews in 1841. The Eastern Jews urged this policy upon Sir Moses Montefiore as an outcome of the Damascus Blood Accusation and the overthrow of Mehemet Ali. Lord Palmerston directed the British consuls to assume this position broadly, though Lord Aberdeen made clear to the Jewish philanthropist that formal official protection was impossible, owing to the jealousies of the powers.³

Other positive opportunities presented themselves as the aftermath of the war. A bitter but informed critic says: "The Turks returned like screeching vultures to their baffled prey." "This meant that the Sublime Porte was not ready to enforce either Mehemet Ali's or its own professed liberal policy towards the non-Muslims. In the reaction trade was temporarily suspended. The British Ambassador in Constantinople, Lord Stratford de Redcliffe, remonstrated with the Grand Vizir, and the ponderous Turkish machine began to move.

The real center of disturbance at this time was in Syria.

* Prussia in 1842; Sardinia, which afterwards became Italian, 1849; Russia in 1858; Spain, and the U. S. A., in 1859; Mexico in 1865.

After 1713 the Turks had given up all disposition to create a direct ascendancy over the Druzes, whose semi-feudal system of ruling, and secret religious rites established a strong clan-nishness. Resident in Beirut and Sidon, from 1750, as well as in the Lebanon and the Hauran, they had lived at peace with their neighbors, the Maronites, who as a monothelite sect were merely one of the numerous disparate elements of Syria. In 1756 two of the Druze emirs, in alliance with Zaher, had been converted to the Maronite rite. As the Maronites had been incorporated in the Roman Catholic Church, and were then vaguely protected by the French, this conversion upset the social equilibrium of the Lebanon. During the Mamluk reigns Druze and Maronite had fought, side by side, against Egyptian encroachment. During the war against Mehemet Ali both groups were encouraged to rebellion.

In 1841, when the British exiled Beschir to Malta, the powers undertook to play a part in these obscure local problems. They named a Christian Druze as Grand Prince of the Lebanon, to the annoyance and discomfort of the Druzes. The Maronite Patriarch, encouraged by France,⁵ claimed authority in the Druze villages. In September, 1841, the two factions were definitely arrayed against each other, and some bloodshed followed. By naming as governor of the Lebanon, 'Omar Mustapha Pasha, the Turkish government selected an official who understood the devious policy of encouraging the opposing factions to struggle against each other, while he professed to further the new liberal pro-alien policy. Owing to the 1839 insurrection, some of the Druzes had fled and settled on the Carmel, where they are still established, their feud with the Maronites became part of the Palestine scene. Twenty years later the quarrel grew to such proportions that it provided an excuse for the complete separation of Syria from Palestine, and the renewal of a Balkanization, which had been abandoned on the fall of the Latin Kingdom, six centuries previously.

In 1844 Russia approached France with her plan for the eventual dismemberment of the Turkish empire, and was willing to hasten the partition. Thus gradually Palestine assumed a new rôle in international affairs, with the Sultan retained as suzerain, because whilst Great Britain and France wished to

check the Russian advance on Constantinople, they were unwilling to discuss the ownership of Syria. So far no power had even vaguely suggested a possessive interest in Palestine. They eyed each other with sufficient suspicion to find it necessary in the Treaty of Paris, signed August 3, 1860, to declare that "the contracting parties do not intend to seek for, and will not seek for . . . any territorial advantages, any exclusive influence, or any concessions with regard to the commerce of their subjects."

II

The business of advocating European national interests in Palestine was left to free-lance publicists. Some claim was made for Russia on the basis of the mass of Greek Catholics, settled in the Near East. Frenchmen pointed to the French influence with the Maronites, who were calling themselves "the French of the Orient"; but they incidentally referred to Jewish claims in Palestine. British writers, supported by Americans, praised the blessings of British administration and the honesty and integrity of British rule, but they put forward the claims of the Jews.

Lord Shaftesbury was, perhaps, the first prominent Englishman to raise the Jewish issue, and he carried it, prior to the war with Mehemet Ali, into the most intimate and responsible political and government circles. His diaries show that even the appointment of the first British consul in Jerusalem was related to this problem, rather than to purely British political and commercial interests. From 1839 this pro-Jewish Palestinean discussion ran parallel, in the *London Times*, with the agitation over the Eastern Question, and long continued after the pressure over Turkish affairs was considerably relaxed. While a good many of the protagonists of the Return were vague, the idea of a Jewish State in Palestine was discussed under that clear political designation in 1840.* "Practical suggestions in

* Apparently the first to use this political term was the Rev. Wilson Filson Marsh (*Der Orient*, Leipzig, 1840, No. 16). It was in 1856 employed by Colonel Churchill to Sir Moses Montefiore. (See: Nahum Sokolow's *History of Zionism*, London, 1919, I, Chapters xxi-xxx, inclusive, for the general character of the agitation to the close of the Crimean War; Albert M. Hyamson's *British Projects for the Restoration of the Jews*, London, 1917.)

furtherance of the establishment of Jewish colonies in Palestine, the most sober and sensible remedy for the miseries of Asiatic Turkey," were put forward by Colonel George Gawler, a former governor of South Australia, in 1845, and he continued his propaganda to the seventies, when Turkey collapsed financially.

Jews took no active part in this agitation. Sir Moses Montefiore was interested in Palestine, and Jewish settlement there, but he thought in terms charitable and religious, rather than political. Several Safedian families, under the pressure of this agitation, made a vague attempt at agricultural settlement in Shefa 'Amr in the late forties; but their effort aroused comparatively little interest.

The real source of the interest in the problem was the condition of Palestine. The land was empty *—its wastes cried for population.⁶ Its silences,[†] and its desolation,[‡] and its ruins[§] made visitors vocal. What this great stream of writing travellers learnt on the spot, during four decades beginning 1840, led them to mistrust and hate the Turk and despise the Muslim population. Nor as Protestants did they admire the local Christians. The village lands belonged in reality to the crown, and were held in fee simple, reverting to the crown if uncultivated.⁶ The population was hopelessly incompetent and lethargic, owing to the taxation. There was therefore no interest in the contemporary inhabitants. Not a kind word was written about them.[§]

* As late as 1877 Colonel C. R. Conder (*Tent Work in Palestine*, p. 368) declared the population insufficient, and suggested that the land could support ten times the total of its then population.

† Outside the gates of Jerusalem "we saw, indeed, no living object, heard no living sound, we found the same void, the same silence . . . as we should have expected before the entombed gates of Pompeii or Herculaneum" (*Lamartine*, I, p. 268) "a complete eternal silence reigns in the town, on the highways, in the country . . . the tomb of a whole people" (*Ibid.*, I, pp. 308-9).

‡ Dean Stanley (p. 136): "Palestine . . . is an island in a desert waste . . . also an island in the midst of pirates. The Bedouins are the corsairs of the wilderness." And (p. 183) Jerusalem: "A city of ruins. Here and there a regular street, or a well-built European house emerges from the general chaos, but the general appearance is that of a city which has been burnt down in some great conflagration."

§ Conder was one of the few, if not the solitary exception. He called attention to the fact that the native Muslim population was generally considered "fit for the fate of the Red Indian and the Australian, as savages who must disappear before the advance of a superior race." *Ibid.*, p. 386.

No one suggested that either fellah or Bedouin, squatter, or nomad had any rights, or merited any consideration. The Muslims and Christians were thus as definitely crowded out of all political horoscopes, as the Turks who ruled them.

The Palestineans probably never heard of, much less read, the books in which their future, or lack of it, was discussed. But they felt this contempt in other ways. The archeological investigations which from 1840 increasingly became the vogue ran counter to native superstitions and beliefs. The Muslims held that there were fiends below the ground who should not be disturbed, but whose presence checked their own desire to recover buried treasure, the only sane reason in their judgment for deep digging. Why should the British be privileged to discover this hidden treasure which by incantation would be wafted to England? *

Moreover, the roving archeologist, the naturalist, and the surveyor were intruders, who came armed with imperial firmans and managed to force local governors, however reluctantly, to do their bidding. A long arm stretched from Sinai to Petra, which guarded these inquisitive interlopers. They might be asked for *baksheesh*, and they were; but they could not be robbed, or seriously harassed, and their stupid peremptory demands had to be met. The customs of tribes, and the habits of officials were set awry.*

Still more serious was the upheaval wrought in the religious life of the country. The Turkish officials were unsympathetic to the Jews and Christians who lived wholly on sufferance. The sultan's permission was needed to build a synagogue; church bells had not been rung for centuries. Even later it was only under imperial order that places cherished by the Muslims were opened to foreign royalty. The non-Muslims, unimpressed by the promises of the *Hatti-sherif* of Gülhanè, began to register with the consuls. Thus they came under the protection of resident and extremely active foreign officials. Local governors had their wings clipped; complaints came back to the

* The relations between investigators and natives are well set out in most books, but they are best if unconsciously described in Lynch's account of the official U. S. expedition to the Dead Sea and the Jordan in 1848 (Philadelphia, 1849, p. 125).

Turks by the route of Constantinople, coupled with ambassadorial demands.

While the imperial government in its formal acquiescence to the Christian powers forced its Muslim subjects into the shadows, the Protestant world suddenly discovered its duty to teach the Palestinean heathen. Such was the newly aroused zeal of the British that their established church entered into an alliance with the Prussian Lutherans, and a converted German Jew, Alexander Wolfe, was appointed the first Protestant Bishop of Jerusalem.¹⁰ In 1842 a formal successor, Dr. S. M. Alexander, was appointed to the same office, which was continued to 1887, when the British revised the plan of religious representation. Other Protestant denominations followed this example. In 1844 a Russian archimandrite arrived in Jerusalem. Palestine became as religious a fashion as it had become an anti-quarian and archeological mode.

The Russians devoted themselves to enhancing their prestige among the various groups in the eastern churches. When the Greeks would not yield to Russian blandishments, the cause of the Arabic-speaking Christians, within these folds, was bolstered. "It is because Russia has taken up the cause of the native Arab [Christians] that they can no longer be ignored as obscure revolutionaries of the lower classes," is the Roman Catholic complaint sixty years later.¹¹

The Protestant effort was evangelical. Missions, chapels, hospitals, prayer rooms, Bible classes and reading rooms were started. A stream of missionary literature poured forth from Zion, not a little of it coloring every petty incident with the glamour of the fulfillment of prophecy.

As the conversion of Muslims was forbidden by law, the Jews were particularly favored by these missionary efforts. But the conversion of Jews was rare and costly,* and therefore a good

* The stubbornness of the Jews is a frequent theme in missionary literature, and the Jews of Jerusalem were reviled for their stiff-neckedness. Tischendorf (*Travels in the East*, translated by W. E. Shuckard, London, 1849, p. 159) states that the meanest Jewish convert then cost \$150. But U. S. Consul Rhodes (*Jerusalem as It Is*, p. 461) estimated in 1864 that in twenty-four years only one hundred and fifty Jews, including children, had been converted, at a cost including overhead of \$4,165 each. He too complained of the evils of the interdenominational struggles among the Christians. Miss A. Goodrich-Freer (*Inner Jerusalem*, 1904, p. 64) gives the figures from 1839 to 1896 as five hundred and twenty-three and the cost about \$5,000 a convert.

deal of effort was expended on converting the Christians of one sect to another. So sensitive were the Muslims to propaganda that, when, in 1844, the French Consul found occasion to raise his national flag over his consulate, the population protested so vigorously that the display had to be abandoned.¹² The rivalry became more pronounced when, in 1847, the French, who had been encouraged by the rebuilding of the monastery on the Carmel in 1828, brought about the revival of the Latin Patriarchate, which had ceased to exist shortly after Saladin took Jerusalem. An earnest Christian writer gives this picture of the local effect of this rivalry:

The inhabitants of the Christian village of Bait Jala, near Bethlehem, some two hundred families, with a church and four priests, subject to the orthodox patriarch, were converted to the Latin rite. Their conversion was purchased and when the money was spent the village returned to the Greek Church. Soon after the arrival in Jerusalem of the Anglican bishop, they offered themselves, at a price, as converts to Protestantism. The bishop declined the bargain,¹³ though from another source it seems that it was exceedingly low—twenty-five dollars, the tribute owing to the Pasha of Damascus.

III

By 1850 this religious competition had assumed a political character. The British and the French were accusing each other of using the missionaries as agents, but in different spheres. Much more serious, however, was the intensification of the age-old quarrel between the Latin and Greek monks over the custody of the Holy Places. By the capitulations of 1740 the French were accorded the privilege of protecting "all Christians and hostile nations." This in no way influenced their rivals, the Greek Catholics and the Armenians, who constantly fought each other over questions of priority in the use of, or in processions in, the Holy Sepulchre. Nor was this French claim otherwise flawless. A *Hatti-sherif* of 1757 deprived them of the custody of the Church of the Nativity of Bethlehem.¹⁴ Similar documents, of 1634 and 1644, were anti-papal in import; Mehemet IV. in 1658 issued an order adverse

to the Armenians; in 1677 two decrees were issued in favor of the Greeks, and renewed by Suleiman II. Abdul Mejid, who bore the brunt of these struggles, issued four somewhat diverse decisions before the question became vital.¹⁵

Moreover, in practice, the French having no marked predilection for the Spanish monks, who really represented Roman Catholicism in Palestine, had permitted their interest to fall into disuse. Napoleon III. for political reasons demanded the restitution of the French rights, which included guardianship of the Church of the Nativity in Bethlehem, the Stone of Anointing, and Seven Arches of the Virgin, in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre. The Greek Catholics, supported by Russia, set up similar claims.

In 1840 the cupola of the Holy Sepulchre was reported to be in a dangerous condition and likely to topple down.¹⁶ Both Greeks and Latins were accused of spiting each other by stripping the cupola of lead.¹⁷ To stop the wrangling, the Sultan offered to repair the cupola at his own expense. The Christians protested against this, as well as against the Sultan's attempt to put an end to the turbulent scenes in the Church, at Easter-tide, by regulating the rubric of the services.¹⁸ In 1851 the Marquis La Valette officially notified the Porte that not a stone in the Holy Sepulchre could be touched without France's consent. A similar quarrel, between France and Russia, had been started in 1819, but the Greek War of Independence forced both sides to forget their ecclesiastical differences. Now the whole issue was renewed.¹⁹ Nothing, by the way, happened to the cupola till 1868, when by a joint agreement between France, Russia and the governor of Jerusalem, it was repaired.*

In November, 1847, the silver star recording the presumed exact spot on which Jesus was born, in front of the Holy Manger in the Bethlehem Church, disappeared.²⁰ The in-

*"It was the dispute between Catholics and Orthodox as to the keys of the Holy Sepulchre that immediately caused the Crimean War"—Catholic Encyclopedia, 1910 (VIII, article "Jerusalem," p. 366), which, writing of conditions in 1910 adds: "The inside of the cupola over the Anastasis especially is rotting daily. But the reparation of the roof is most dangerous of all since by Turkish law the right to repair implies possession and the possession of a roof means possession of all it covers."

scription on the star being in Latin, the Greeks were accused of the theft. Both denominations offered to replace the missing star. France backed the Latins, the Russians supported the Greek Catholics. The shaky cupola and the lost star were the indirect causes of the Crimean War.

For two years the powers involved quarrelled with the Sultan over their "rights," while a virile governor of Jerusalem, Mehemet Kubrusli, maintained order in the Church by aid of his Bashi Bazouks. Then the Sultan consented to the appointment of a "mixed commission" to solve the problem. The French accepted this offer, provided no document later than their treaty of 1740 was introduced at the conference.

The Russians, on the other hand, demanded consideration for the Treaty of Kuchuk Kainarji, which was signed in 1774. The Czar rested his claim to interfere, as guardian of all the Christians in the Turkish Empire, on the seventh clause of that document. Catherine II. had in this clause induced Turkey to agree that Russia was "to protect constantly the Christian religion and its churches, and also to allow the minister of the Imperial Court of Russia to make on all occasions representations as well in favor of the new church in Constantinople," which the Russians were, at the time, erecting in the Galata quarter of the capital. Russia sought an admission from the Sublime Porte of her wide interpretation of the clause. The Turks naturally resisted. The French, of course, opposed Russia. The British, being Protestants, had no direct interest in the Holy sites, but excepting Mr. Gladstone, they denied the broad interpretation of the clause by which Russia claimed the right of interference in the interests of millions of Greek Catholics, scattered throughout the Turkish Empire.

In March, 1852, the Sultan solved the problem by undertaking the protection of all non-Muslims in the empire. This denied the Russian pretensions—and recognized the French guardianship of the Latin interests.

Protesting its rights, Russia prepared for war, by an invasion of Turkey. Though no phase of it was fought in the country, authority over Palestineans was the primary cause of the Crimean War. The various declarations are clear as to this

cause of the war. Mustafa Reschid wrote on behalf of the Sultan:

"To stipulate with a foreign government by a *sened* [obligatory act] . . . in favor of a numerous community, subjects of the government . . . trenches upon the independent rights of the power which engages itself."

Nicholas from Tsarskoi Selo, on October 28, 1853, declared that the object of the war was "reclaiming of the Ottoman Porte inviolable guarantees in favor of the sacred rights of the Orthodox Church." Queen Victoria formally wrote at Westminster on March 28, 1854, that she had failed to "preserve to her people and to Europe the blessings of peace" because of "Russia's unprovoked aggression" on the Sublime Porte, by demands which affected

"not the privileges of the Greek Church at Jerusalem, but the position of many millions of Turkish subjects in relation to their sovereign the Sultan."

There was, therefore, agreement as to the motivation of the war. The Palestinean repercussions were intense.

In September, 1853, a Turkish battalion left Jerusalem amid much excitement for the purpose of aiding in saving "the lands of Islam." For three months of the war, from December, 1853, to March, 1854, Jerusalem was without pasha or troops. Despite the fears of massacre which prevailed among the Christians, nothing happened in the Holy City except great distress owing to lack of food. In Gaza and other districts the Bedouins, in the absence of any authority, did a good deal of pillaging. The handful of Russians in Palestine was incarcerated, but on the whole the period of non-government was a peaceful period for Palestine.

By February, 1855, the Latins were so emboldened by the events of the war that they celebrated the issuance of the Papal Bull, decreeing the Immaculate Conception, with the first display of fireworks and illuminations on the roof of the Latin Convent²¹ ever seen in the city. But the fall of Sebastopol and the news of the peace were also celebrated by long-remembered bonfires, fireworks and an illumination.²²

IV

By the Treaty of Peace, signed at Paris, on March 30, 1856, by which the issues of the Crimean campaign were adjusted,* the Western powers (article VII.) guaranteed in common "to respect the Independence and the Territorial Integrity of the Ottoman Empire." The Russian claims were disposed of in article IX.:

"His Imperial Majesty the Sultan having in his constant solicitude for the welfare of his majesty's subjects issued a firman, which while ameliorating their condition without distinction of Religion or of Race, records his generous intentions towards the Christian population of his Empire, and wishing to give further proof of his sentiments in this respect, has resolved to communicate to the contracting parties the said Firman emanating spontaneously from his sovereign will.

"The contracting powers recognize the high value of this communication. It is clearly understood that it cannot, in any case, give to the said Powers the right to interfere, either collectively or separately, in the relations of His Majesty the Sultan with his subjects, nor in the internal administration of his Empire."

All this was set down in cynical disregard of the intentions of the powers, and of the facts, as they presented themselves in Palestine. Almost immediately after the peace, Russia began her famous policy of boring from within, by playing an active part in ecclesiastical matters. In 1858 a baptized Jew named Levinson was sent as the first Russian Bishop to Jerusalem,²³ and thereafter the Russian factor in the Greek Church slowly began to dominate not only among the Greek Catholics, but among those followers of the various Eastern rites, who were regarded as heretics by the orthodox Greeks. A much more powerful weapon was the subsidizing of the Russian pilgrims.²⁴ The Czar himself appealed for the support of the faithful, and a well-organized institution was founded in Russia, ably directed in Palestine, which took charge of the pilgrims, from their landing in Palestine, to their departure from its borders.

Year by year the number of these pilgrims, who often stayed

* "The Eastern Question was not settled by the Crimean War. . . . Palestine is still to the people of Israel the Land of Promise."—Finn (British consul during the war in Jerusalem), *Stirring Times*, II, p. 485.

from Christmas to the following Easter, made their presence felt in Palestine. The number of Russian pilgrims thus rose annually to about eight thousand, at the end of the century. Their presence in 1860 necessitated the erection of the great Russian hospice outside the walls of Jerusalem. Accommodation was provided for a thousand pilgrims. A Russian religious settlement was started at Ain Karim in the vicinity of Jerusalem, and by the end of the century Russia had achieved the remarkable advantage of erecting the conspicuous "Russian Tower" on Mount Olivet, the tallest building in the country, and, as the thoughtful frequently noted, commanding a clear view to Kerak, in Trans-Jordan. To these gains was added, in 1902, under pressure, the issuance of a firman which permitted the Russians to open schools in Galilee, a power which was quickly exercised.²⁵

The followers of the Eastern rites were not slow to follow this example. Land was purchased in all parts of Jerusalem, and the Armenians enlarged their hospice. The French government, so far from exporting their domestic anticlerical policy, came to the support of the Latins. Though no French order of priests came to Palestine before 1878, the government, immediately after the peace of 1856, provided thirty thousand dollars for the rebuilding of the Church of St. Anne, and in other ways protected their interests. An individual monk whose name is still attached to one of the districts of Jerusalem, a wealthy converted Jew, Abbé Alphonse Ratisbonne, established a number of institutions, and purchased the Ecce Homo arch, to prevent it falling into rival hands.²⁶ This general policy was crowned in 1886 by the establishment of the first Jesuit organization in Palestine, the nuns of the "Sisters of Charity."

All this religious development was not only locally regarded as political in import, but was the over-riding argument in all appeals to the Protestants of England and Germany to establish institutions and erect churches—national interest was at stake, and political prestige must be maintained. Although the Protestants had founded an American mission in 1838, which, however, was withdrawn in 1843, and had been permitted to erect the English cathedral only on condition that it remain an

integral part of the British consulate building, they complained not only of Muslim resistance, but of persecution by the oriental churches.²⁷ The demand for Protestant progress became the more critical when it was realized that the Russians were not only gaining ground by their mass of pilgrims, but that, contrary to the British and the Latin attitude, they were advancing to posts of ecclesiastical prominence native Arab-speaking Christians.

The institutional gain in the years immediately before the war was unique. By 1854 there had been added to Jerusalem twenty-four churches, convents, synagogues, and the Rothschild hospital. The non-Muslims, who had produced all these changes, were still more keen for political freedom, implying independence of Turkish authority. The Sultan's power did not exceed the length of a pistol shot, or the reach of a bayonet;²⁸ but both the natives and the foreigners were keen as to the paper sanctions contained in the firman promised in the treaty of peace.

V

The long expected *Hatti Humayan* was read with much pomp and ceremony by the governor of Jerusalem to an official assembly of the native and foreign notables in April, 1856. In it the Sultan promised that "every distinction tending to inferiority shall be effaced from the Administrative protocol." All forms of religion were to be freely professed; no one could be compelled to change his religion; all subjects were fully equal before the law; all were admissible to public office; mixed tribunals were to be instituted for the benefit of the non-Muslims; all Christians were liable for enlistment, but all non-Muslims could exempt themselves from military service on the payment of a fixed tax, known as the *bedel-i-akchiki*.²⁹ To the World War this tax amounted to one dollar and sixty-eight cents, and like the road tax was payable by every male between twenty and sixty years of age. The edict regulated the elections of the chief offices of the various religions, making them life appointments and permitted (clause xiii.) the purchase of land by foreigners.

Jerusalem was impressed by the edict, but Nablus and Gaza and other Muslim centers gave little heed to it. Enforcement depended upon the consuls. Turks like Kemil Pasha, then governor of Jerusalem, obeyed its letter but were foreign to its spirit. The American Consul notes that in 1865 the Jews were still compelled to pay annually one thousand, five hundred dollars "for the privilege of weeping" at the Wailing Wall.³⁰ But in view of the government's general indifference this could hardly be regarded as a grievance. Twenty years later the fellaheen still suffered from the "entire absence of education;"³¹ soldiers had to be given free quarters in the villages; conscription was enforced, and "as a punishment the whole adult male population is sometimes marched off in irons to headquarters. Few of the poor fellows who are thus torn away from the weeping women ever return to their homes."³²

The Sublime Porte did, however, introduce some administrative changes. In 1857 the ministry of public instruction was established for the empire, and in 1859 the *Mejelle*, or civil code, was proclaimed. The military governor of Jerusalem was directly appointed by Constantinople, and the city guarded by Maughrabians. The mufti and ulema, who still received the revenues of the Holy Sepulchre, were changed annually. Mention is, moreover, made of a firman by which "foreigners are actually invited to come to Palestine . . . and occupy as much land as they desire, paying nothing for twelve years, and subsequently only one-fifth, receiving at the expiration of twenty-one years a complete title."³³ There is, however, no reference to any one or any group accepting this generous offer.

The sale to Sir Moses Montefiore of the land needed for the almshouses given by the American philanthropist, Judah Touro, excited great interest, for it was the first transfer of land to a foreigner and a non-Muslim.³⁴ The Dome of the Rock was thrown open to non-Muslim visitors, and after a silence of six centuries church bells were again rung.

Local conditions were, notwithstanding all this political advance, very bad. Every sheik was lord in his own domain, the Bedouins ranged the country, forcing the population to the hills, and the bandit chief, Abu Ghosh, the third or fourth of

that particular dynasty since 1813,³⁵ took toll from every traveller who ventured to travel in solitary state. The Jews had introduced bread baked in the European style,³⁶ but for the rest, the world jogged along at its old pace.

Hard-riding Tartar couriers brought the weekly mail to Jerusalem, until the Austrian and French consuls introduced consular post offices. The day was still counted in Oriental fashion, from sunset to sunset, the second period of the twenty-four-hour day beginning at sunrise.³⁷ Food and clothing were very cheap, but the population destitute.

Jewish immigration was impressing observers. Haifa received, in 1857, an influx of Jews from various parts of the Orient,³⁸ and Jerusalem from eastern Europe. The increase in the population impressed a returning American.³⁹ Behind it all was a dismal picture of want. In 1854 the Russian government prohibited the Jews of its empire, who were the mainstay of the Jewish poor of Palestine, from remitting aid to them, and for a time the Jews of Jerusalem, Hebron, Tiberias and Safed starved. Aid came from the Jews in western Europe, and the interdict proved a blessing in disguise. For thereafter, what with visits of Sir Moses Montefiore, Baron Alphonse de Rothschild, Albert Cohn, and others, the aid for Palestinian Jews was organized systematically, institutions and schools were founded, and life generally improved. These advances were marked by the erection of a windmill near Jerusalem, and by the building of what is still the biggest synagogue within the walls.

The increase in the French, Austrian and Russian pilgrims merely emphasized the unsanitary condition of the Holy City which was littered with the bodies of animals that died in the streets, and with the offal from the slaughterhouses.⁴⁰ Though Palestine had been promoted to a pashalic, and Jerusalem was again a capital, it was the foreigners, not the local government, who organized a sanitary commission. The visit of the Sultan in 1859 compelled the cleansing of the city streets. Regular daily street cleansing was not introduced till 1866, when Sir Moses Montefiore paid for it, and in that year street lighting was first introduced. Similar progress was noted in Jaffa.

On his retirement from Palestine in 1841, Ibrahim Pasha had left behind him permanent colonies of Egyptians at Beisan, Nablus, Irbid, Acre and Jaffa, where some five hundred Egyptian soldiers' families established a new quarter. With this aid and the resettlement of the Jews in the town, which dates from 1839, Jaffa began to grow. Between 1840 and 1855 the Jaffa area to the Aujah was covered with mulberry plantations by a Beirut group,⁴¹ and Sir Moses Montefiore noted in his diary the improvements between 1855 and 1857. These changes were impressive only to the discerning and to those familiar with the country. Newcomers saw squalor, poverty, hundreds of deserted villages, and uninhabited places.

In the two decades ending 1867 the stores in Jerusalem multiplied six or seven-fold,⁴² and by that date the Jerusalem-Jaffa highroad was planned. But immediately following the war, business was poor. Jerusalem and Nazareth were considerably aided by the revenues of the Christian establishments, about a hundred thousand Florentine florins a year,⁴³ and the Jews were assisted by nine hundred thousand thalers, *Chaluka*.⁴⁴ The five thousand pilgrims spent about one hundred and twenty-five thousand dollars annually in Palestine. The actual commercial center of the country was Ramleh, where the French factors bought Palestinian cotton.⁴⁵

V

In 1860 the international political interest again veered sharply to the Lebanon. The British policy, to exclude French influence from the territory,⁴⁶ had in 1841 produced the treaty by which the Lebanon was divided between the Maronites and the Druzes. There were no less than twenty-nine officially recognized Christian sects in Syria, but the Maronites were not only under the Roman Church, they had one hundred thousand men capable of bearing arms. This and French support gave them the advantage in their struggle with the Druzes, who had only fifty-six thousand fighting men, and who were, or later came, under unofficial British protection.

The British position was exceedingly difficult. The Maronites were Christians, the Druzes were not. England was anti-French, but most Englishmen were of the Christian faith and

preferred the Maronites, even if they were Catholics, to the Druzes, with their mysterious and, according to popular notions, "heathen" rites. The partition of the Lebanon, in 1841, and the introduction of ruinous export duties resulted in four civil wars during the decade that followed.

The Crimean War obscured the struggle that continued in the Lebanon, where the Maronites, under French protection and instigation, disturbed the equilibrium by pursuing a policy of expansion and aggrandizement which amounted to an attempt on the part of their ecclesiastical leaders to obtain control of the country, and "to possess [it] as their exclusive domain, exterminating or exiling those who refused to submit to their extravagant pretensions."⁴⁷

What originally had been an obscure squabble became by 1860—when, in the spring, a Maronite priest was found murdered, presumably the victim of Druze vengeance—a world issue, a deciding factor in the political re-organization of Syria and Palestine, under Turkish rule, and a potent element in deciding the future of the Near East at the Peace Conference of 1919. The murder of the priest was followed by a series of retaliatory forays, in which much damage was done, and many persons slain. On May 28, 1860, the Maronite villages in the vicinity of Beirut were burnt down, and by July a mob of fanatics, Druzes, Arabs and Kurds, entered Damascus and pillaging the Christian quarter, in one day slaughtered two thousand of its inhabitants. The Jews, taking refuge with the Muslims, suffered only pillage. All the consulates were destroyed, and but for the timely intervention of Abd-el-Kader and his Algerians, and other friendly Muslims, much greater loss of life would have ensued.

Impetus was given to this outbreak by the widespread belief that the Sultan had issued a decree for the extermination of the infidels. Color was lent to this rumor by the distribution of ammunition, and the fixing of a day for the massacre in Acre.⁴⁸ The internal division among the Muslims in Jerusalem prevented any outbreak in that city, but throughout Palestine whole villages of Christians—men, women and children—hastily embraced Islam, as the only alternative to what they

believed to be certain death. The damage of this rising is categorically set down as "eleven thousand Christians massacred, one hundred thousand suffered by civil war; twenty thousand desolate widows and orphans; three thousand Christian habitations burned; four thousand Christians perished of destitution; and two million pounds property damage."⁴⁰

If the Sultan was accused of espousing the Druze cause, and Turkish officials showed a lukewarm interest in suppressing the trouble, the French were held responsible for the origin of the Maronite ambitions. While the British and the French regarded the Turk as an irreclaimable ruffian, the British accused the French of attempting to place "Syria in a situation which should make good the French declared opinion that the Porte never would be able to govern Syria."⁴¹ The French, of course, accused the British of employing the missionaries in Palestine to much the same purpose.

The outbreak was, however, successfully localized. There was no general massacre. European squadrons steamed hastily into Beirut and prevented further outbreaks. Lord Dufferin's presence in the East intensified, through his messages and pro-Druze policy, the British view. The Sultan met the situation by sending Fuad Pasha to Damascus, and he executed summary justice on a number of the ringleaders. Finally a mixed tribunal tried to handle the matter, but with little success.

In August, 1860, Great Britain, France, Austria, Prussia, Russia and Turkey signed a convention for the pacification of the Lebanon. The French provided the necessary military force, which speedily landed in Beirut. But in June, 1861, the French evacuated Syria and "relieved the minds of many Englishmen, who had long forgotten all about the domestic affairs of the Lebanon in their alarm lest the French imperial troops, having once set foot in Syria, should not easily be induced to quit the country again."⁴² A Christian governor, subordinate to the Sultan, was named by the powers, and the autonomy of the Maronite community of the Lebanon was completed in 1862.*

* The formal "Charter of the Lebanon" was signed in September, 1864, and was frequently amended. Its most recent pre-war changes were made on

To work out this plan of government Syria was now more formally divided from Palestine.

December 23, 1912, when there was a fairly violent recrudescence of the old Franco-British differences on Syrian affairs.

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CHAPTER XX

MODERNIZATION AND COLONIZATION—1861 TO 1914

THE development of Syria followed almost immediately on the pacification of the Lebanon. The French had won their long struggle for economic and political supremacy in Syria. The results showed themselves in a sharp rise in the population, and in a remarkable economic improvement. Secure in the support of the Maronites, they built at Beirut a harbor which became the chief port of the country. In 1863 they connected it with Damascus, opening the first carriage road in all Syria and Palestine. The source of the immigration has not been traced, but the quick increase in population astonished all observers. Founded in 1760, Zahle one hundred years later had only six thousand inhabitants. By 1899 the number had increased to thirty thousand. Beirut was similarly affected.¹ Though the strictly native elements, the Maronites and the Druzes, showed no notable increase in numbers, the Hauran made remarkable gains.

The growth of Syria was carried on at the expense of Palestine. While the latter gained after 1860, the partition affected it seriously. The excellent harbor at Beirut attracted the trade of the whole country. For some decades all the wholesale trade in commodities consumed in Palestine was carried on in Beirut. Acre, which had slowly been regaining ground as a port, was checked for all time. Haifa lost its commercial incentive, and Jaffa, but for the coastal trade, and the pilgrim's shortest route to Jerusalem, made no advance. Gaza suffered still more. By 1890 it had only a few looms for wool-weaving,² whereas, half a century before the partition of Syria, Gaza was the chief industrial center of Palestine. Beirut absorbed all the valuable caravan trade which formerly passed through

Gaza, and commercial contact with Egypt was practically sundered.

To Jerusalem the partition came as a political advantage, for the reorganization made the Holy City less dependent on Damascus. The first notable effect, however, was the migration of the Algerians, who moved from Damascus to Safed in 1860. Under the leadership of Abd-el-Kader, the most notable personage in Palestine in his day, these exiles from the French occupation of Tunis first went to Damascus. After the Lebanon war they sought peace in Palestine. Abd-el-Kader, a thoroughly religious and chivalrous Moor, first raised the flag of Arab independence against the Sultan of Morocco, and then against the French. In his early struggles he met with notable military success, but in 1847 he was forced to surrender in Algeria. After a short imprisonment in a French fortress he was permitted to choose his place of exile. In 1852 he settled with his followers in Damascus; his conduct during the massacre was so gallant that he was proposed for prince of Syria. The Muslims of Safed are mostly descended from these Moorish settlers, and from Kurds who came earlier to the city.

A more subtle change was noted in Palestine in 1862, when Albert Edward, Prince of Wales (afterwards Edward VII.), visited the country. He was permitted to visit the Cave of Machpelah. The governor, however, only extended this courtesy after an express firman was received from Constantinople. Succeeding royal visitors, warned by the Edwardian experiences, obtained their firmans before landing in Palestine. The tomb was open to non-Muslims in exceptional cases only, and remained closed to the World War. In justice to the Hebronite Muslims, who were at all times regarded as fanatics, it should be stated that the guide books published a like description of the Christians of Nazareth.

Jewish advance was also manifested, on the occasion of the Prince's visit. He attended an official reception of the Jews, with the Haham Bashi, in full regalia—evidence of their improved status, and of increasing tolerance. Jewish fanaticism in Jerusalem expended itself over such issues as whether citrons from grafted trees might be properly used for ritualistic pur-

poses on the Feast of Tabernacles, or whether the employment of Hebrew as common speech was destroying the sanctity of the Holy Language.

More striking, and emphasizing the mutations of the towns, was the sudden rise of Nablus as the commercial center of the country. Its always militant population had been severely chastized by Ibrahim Pasha, so that by 1841 it was extremely miserable and wretched, and populated by ten thousand Syrian "Turks," a few Christians, Greeks and some Jews.* In 1864 Nablus had the finest bazaar in Palestine, and the tolls on produce collected at the western gate yielded from ten to twenty thousand piastres a day. It was manufacturing soap—its historic industry—and silverware. Its population had increased to ninety-four hundred Muslims, five to six hundred Christians, a hundred Jews, besides the Samaritans, who remained steadily at one hundred and fifty.⁴

In local annals 1865 is known as "Sent el Jarad," the locust year,* owing to the unprecedented plague of these ravenous insects, and to make matters worse, cholera ravaged the country. Nevertheless, 1865 saw the first advance towards modernity in Palestine, for a telegraph bureau was installed in the Holy City.

The following year witnessed the beginning of what proved to be a permanent settlement of European agriculturists.

II

The background of this colonization effort was wholly religious. In 1867 twelve men from Württemberg, Germany, imbued with the tenets of the "Temple" and anxious to prepare for the Second Advent, settled in reed huts at Semunieh, west of Nazareth, but they all died of fever. In 1868 a second attempt at settlement was made by other Württembergers. These men, who landed in Jaffa, apparently came under the influence of an American mystic named Adams, who had settled at Jaffa, where he founded the Church of the Messiah.

* 1870 was another bad locust year. Bread rose to \$1.50 the *roll* (six pounds), water was scarce, and the inhabitants suffered greatly (Franco, p. 195). In 1876-7 the wheat crop in the Hauran was destroyed by locusts (Luncz), Memorial Collection, "Yerushaliyim," edited by E. L. Sukenik, Jerusalem, 1926.

One hundred and sixty Württembergers landed, but the majority returned to Europe, on an American vessel. Those who remained established the Temple colonies. In 1869 they founded their first house in Sarona, in the vicinity of Jaffa. That village was incorporated in 1872, and was later followed by the founding of the neighboring village of Wilhelmina. But the Templars, reinforced by immigrants, soon spread as urban settlers in Jerusalem, Nazareth, Ramleh and Haifa, where their typical German homes and streets are well known. In 1875 the Haifa settlement had risen to three hundred and eleven.

Despite all its liberal professions, the Turkish government, hindered rather than aided the development of these settlements, which brought new agricultural methods to Palestine. It regarded the Templars as an advance guard of German interests.⁵ In 1883 the Templars throughout Palestine numbered one thousand.⁶ The figures showed no change for years.* By 1898 they had become the leading factors in the wholesale trade of the country, particularly in Haifa.⁷ By 1895 their settlement in Haifa had been reduced to five hundred,⁸ but in 1913 the urban Templars had risen to fourteen hundred in Haifa, Jerusalem and Jaffa, while six hundred and twenty-four were settled in the agricultural colonies of Sarona, Wilhelmina, Beer Salim, Bethlehem (in Zebulon) and Waldheim near Nazareth.⁹

Adams' American followers apparently were mostly of Swedish origin,¹⁰ and eventually split over the principle of introducing polygamy, and subsequently disappeared,¹¹ or rather were merged in the Spaffordites, or "Overcomers" as they were locally known, who formed the basis of the existing American colony on the north side of Jerusalem. This American settlement was wholly urban, and its motive religious. Its reorganization took place in 1881, when it accepted "theocratic communism" as its principle. In 1904 the American colony numbered thirty-eight Americans, who, however, declined to register with the United States consul, fifty-five Swedes, and twenty of other nationalities.¹²

* Conder in 1877 wrote: "The children of the present generation will probably like those of the Crusading settlers in Palestine be inferior in physique and power of endurance to their fathers," and therefore the settlement, in his judgment, could only be maintained by immigration.

III

Though in 1881 there was "not even a good waggon road,"¹⁸ Palestine celebrated the visit of the Austrian Emperor and his son, in 1869, by laying a road between Jaffa and Jerusalem. But the older settlers were being impressed by what were to them serious social changes. The pasha's wife gave weekly receptions to Christian women; Muslim ladies began to wear French toilettes; their men donned European clothes; and the cigarette was vanquishing the "water pipe." A note of change was also struck in legislation. Foreigners were permitted, in 1867, to acquire land, provided they divested themselves of the right of protection from their own authorities. In the tax reform instituted the same year, Jerusalem was spared the impost levied on all houses—out of respect for its sanctity.

Abdul Aziz who, on the death of Abdul Mejid in 1861, succeeded his brother, hastened the bankruptcy of Turkey. When that condition could no longer be blinked, Abdul Aziz was replaced by Murad V., who fearful both of Russia and France began to court the Prussians. Accordingly he took the unusual step of making a small grant of land to the Germans for a church—the Muristan. In 1875 the opening of Herod's gate was regarded as a symbol of great change, but a real advance was made after Abdul Hamid acceded to the throne, in 1876, for the year following the first steam flour mill was operating in Palestine, and the consular postal system completed.¹⁴

In the meantime, Palestine had become of vital interest to the religious and scientific world. From the deciphering of the hieroglyphics on the Rosetta Stone by Jean François Champollion in 1822, and the discovery in Jerusalem of the ancient arch which has been named for him by the American, Robinson, Western Biblical scholars and orientalist became impressed with the desirability and possibility of identifying the Biblical sites, and uncovering monumental evidence of Palestine's past. English societies, German organizations, and French free-lances joined in this unique investigation.

German consuls in Jerusalem became celebrated for their archeological researches, and American consuls—for this

reason mostly clergy—were selected for their interest in the same scientific pursuit. The Turks resisted, and the native Muslims opposed, actual excavation. A great impetus, however, was given to archeology by the discovery by De Saulcy, the French investigator, in 1864 of the Tombs of the Kings, which the Jews recognized as the sepulchre of Calba Sabua. Still more important was the finding of the Moabite Stone, near the Arnon, by a German named Klein in 1868. The accidental discovery of the Amarna Tablets, in 1873, and the equally accidental discovery by Jewish boys of the celebrated Siloam Inscription, in 1880, vitalized Biblical history and presented Palestine in a new light.

By corresponding work in Egypt and Babylonia, three ancient and related worlds were revived, and the past of the East was made as real and circumstantial as the past of Rome and Athens. The intensity of the interest thus created is attested by the fact that between 1833 and 1894 fifteen geological surveys of the Hauran were completed. In 1872 the Palestine Exploration Fund began its momentous survey of western Palestine under the direction of Colonel Claude Renier Conder, and in 1877 Lieutenant Kitchener surveyed thirteen hundred miles of the country. The work of the Fund has continued unbrokenly to this day.

At the opening of the World War the survey of the Desert of Tih was in progress. It was from surveying between Kadesh Barnea and Aqaba that Lieutenant Lawrence was called to military-political work, in the same territory, when Great Britain declared war on Turkey. Conder, Kitchener, Warren and Wilson stand out as the Englishmen who have recovered Jerusalem and restored much of ancient Palestine. Edward Henry Palmer delved into Sinai's past, and the still active and always resourceful Flinders Petrie recreated the knowledge of the Egyptian contact with Palestine.

To these pre-war scientists must be added Clermont-Ganneau, who unselfishly served both the English organization and the French Institute, bringing a prodigious scholarship to bear on the whole past, but who made his most important contributions to Palestine of the Roman era. Of the Germans, Schu-

macher and Blanckenhorn are best known. While their field was not limited they found most scope in unravelling the Arabic element in Palestine, past and present, in geological surveys, and in the constant re-mapping of Judea. To this effort the Deutsche Palästina Verein and its publication have rendered brilliant service. Of Americans besides Robinson, the pre-war notables in this field were George Adam Smith and H. Clay Trumbull.¹⁵

Since the World War the archeological investigations have increased in number, the work has been systematized, and American university groups as well as those attached to the Hebrew University have engaged in the unselfish task of retrieving the past, particularly of the Biblical era.*

Unintentionally, this interpretation of the Bible, with the aid of the spade, had economic value. It replaced the dwindling pilgrims by tourists, especially Americans who, after 1890, came in ever-increasing numbers. At the same time it intensified the world's indifference and contempt for the living generation, which imprudently and squalidly squatted amid the ruins of ancient glory, and, following the habits of countless generations, all too readily converted the remnants of priceless monuments into building stone to meet temporary needs.

IV

In the hope of securing a larger revenue for the bankrupt empire, the administrative system of Palestine was again overhauled in 1873. The provinces were redivided, and these changes proved to be of permanent political importance. The Sanjak of Acre was bounded on the north by the Ladder of Tyre, which is still the northern frontier (though most statistics prior to the war included Tyre as part of Palestine), and running south of Lake Huleh embraced all of Galilee. Samaria, including the coast to Kfar Saba, became the Sanjak of the Belka, with Nablus as its capital. The rest of the country,

* This reference to archeological exploration is obviously limited to the period under discussion, and to work in-the-field in Palestine. The same period, however, witnessed a tremendous literary output, and critical study, especially in France and Germany, of written and monumental records of what apparently remains an inexhaustible field.

Judea and the Negeb, to the Egyptian border, became the Mutessariflik of Jerusalem, increasing the prestige of the Pasha of Jerusalem. Though accorded greater independence in civil matters, the three governors were subject to the wali of Damascus. Each of the three provinces was subdivided into Kazas or cantons, with lieutenant governors.

Trans-Jordan was similarly divided into administrative units with subdivisions of the Hauran, Jaulan, Amman, Es Salt, and Kerak which embraced Aqaba. The contemporary reason for increasing the officialdom in this area is not stated. As an American consul¹⁶ correctly stated: "It is not within the power of the Turkish Government to drive the Bedouins or dispute their claims," in Trans-Jordan. In fact, in western Palestine they had driven the population to the hills, and the plains were wholly neglected.¹⁷ Whatever the reason, a remarkable improvement followed in the Hauran. This part of Trans-Jordan, which is now within French territory, multiplied one hundred-fold between 1853 and 1883.¹⁸ By 1890 it had 230 villages,* and its crops were estimated at one hundred thousand tons a year. The Cuinet statistics for 1895,¹⁹ including 55,000 Druzes, give the population of the Hauran as 137,312, and the export of cereals and cattle was valued at twenty million dollars.

No such improvement was, however, registered for the southern part of Trans-Jordan. The population of Kerak was given in 1872²⁰ as eight thousand, by 1895 it had been reduced to two thousand,²¹ and the Circassian settlement of fifteen thousand reported as immigrating after the Russo-Turkish War²² had decreased to five thousand, while the Druzes were reported as stationary at one hundred thousand, in the Lebanon and Trans-Jordan.

The only difference brought about by the change in the administrative system was the abolition of the wholesale tax farmer. The government invited bids for small areas, individual towns, or a dozen villages.²³ Though the Bashi Bazouks were the actual collectors, the government could not reconcile

* Robinson in 1852 (*Researches*, 1856, p. 445) listed one hundred thirty-four villages with 47,700 inhabitants in the Northern Hauran.

itself to the direct collection of the taxes. It is generally accepted that the government did not net more than ten per cent. of the actual extortions, which depressed, overwhelmed and degraded the farmers.²⁴ In hundreds of cases the local tax farmer collected from the vine-grower more than the proceeds of the sale of his entire crop.²⁵

This pernicious system remained in vogue to the World War,²⁶ but owing to the complexities of the provincial divisions it is impossible to learn whether this retailing of the tax-farming inured to the benefit of the government revenues.* The administrative change was, however, found useful in the supervision of the conscription, which became of importance in the Russo-Turkish war.

The administrative units of the province of Jerusalem were the Holy City, Hebron, Jaffa and Gaza. In this plan Ramleh, Lydda and Bethlehem were relegated to very minor positions. From a census of all the buildings in the province of Jerusalem taken in 1871, it appears that the six towns (Bethlehem, with its 520 houses, was rated a village) and 285 villages had in all 31,783 houses, one-third of which were in the towns.²⁷ The report details the number of dwelling places, warehouses, factories, schools (53 schools with 4,551 pupils, mostly non-Muslim), mosques, synagogues, etc., but despite its apparent meticulousness, internal evidence betrays a good deal of inaccuracy. Moreover, the officials chose to regard any unit of buildings as a single house. In some cases this implied twenty or more dwellings, whereas in the villages a one-room mud-hut was also a house. Hebron in this table, therefore, takes first place with 3,000 houses, whilst Jerusalem city, with 2,393 houses, is third.

As a matter of fact, Jerusalem, largely owing to Jewish immigration, was the only city that was seriously expanding in this period. The erection of Jewish suburbs "outside the walls" began in 1868, and four such districts were added by 1870, three

* In 1875 Mr. Samuel Montagu (afterwards Lord Swaythling) estimated the revenue of all Palestine at \$450,000 (Franco, p. 197). American consular reports give the income for 1881 as \$430,000; 1884, \$585,000; 1891, \$524,981 of which \$35,000 was municipal revenue; 1892, \$566,300 of which \$27,976 was municipal revenue.

more were developed by 1880, and ten others were added by the end of 1890.²⁸

While immigration increased the population, the tax burdens forced mobility on the older inhabitants, and in 1875, the lot of the fellaheen was extremely miserable. "Adults appear to have no amusement, they say themselves with terrible truth that they have 'no leisure in their hearts for mirth,' being hopeless and spiritless under their hard bondage and oppression, usury and violence."²⁹

Despite a solitary attempt at training Arabs in modern agriculture, made at the instance of a Jerusalem banker, the methods of husbandry were not improved. By the Arab system of culture the land did not yield more than six bushels to the acre.³⁰ Conditions of life accordingly remained low. Even in 1880, the average cost of supporting a fellah family of six persons was \$50, seldom more than \$75, a year,³¹ but it was difficult to acquire that much cash.

Even several years later, eggs brought, retail, no more than one cent for two; and one cent apiece was regarded as "a tremendous price."³² The best lands, between Lydda and Ramleh, were leased for ten per cent. of their produce.³³ Four thousand acres, therefore, yielded \$700 in taxes; in another case, six thousand acres brought \$515, and the largest payment was \$1,600 on three thousand acres.³⁴

Little wonder that at this period the government began to dispose outright of its lands in Galilee, to the Sursuk family, though by all accounts the great plain of Jezreel involved more in graft than in purchase price.³⁵

Excepting Midhat Pasha, who was appointed in 1879, but was thwarted by the venality and obstinacy of his subordinates, most of the Pashas had no interest in the country other than that which actuated their predecessors, cash. During 1875 they talked much about public improvements, road building, railroad construction and the like. All of this was slow in coming, for except the roads, which were built by forced labor in the nineties, improvements were brought about by foreign enterprise and capital, which saw no return ahead.

V

Palestine was merely the bedraggled tassel of the bespattered and much buffeted Turkish fez, the emblem of a hated bureaucracy. The accelerated tempo of all things, to which steam and electricity could be applied, dismayed, but failed to influence whatever statecraft was exercised at Stamboul. By 1875 European Turkey had progressed to about the Western standards of 1830. Palestine, of course, lagged behind, for its first railroad was not running until 1892. In most other matters it was still living in the sixteenth century. Because neither the Sultan nor his advisers realized that new times demanded new manners, the empire was not only caught in a financial catastrophe—placed in a receivership in the interest of the bondholders—but it was politically dismembered in Europe, the bravery of Turkish soldiers was no match for modern weapons.

Sultan Abdul Hamid II. could neither weld nor even moderately unite the Muslim forces in the Empire against the persistent pressure, and sometimes frank intrigues, of the Christian powers. Abdul Aziz committed suicide, Murad IV. was too incompetent to hold the throne, and Abdul Hamid, the last full sultan, did no more for many years than strut through the numerous inner chambers of that massive and complex mixture of barracks, palace and harem, known as the Yildiz Kiosk. Here he probably received a percentage of the graft and bribery, in exchange for which his ministers governed the empire. The successive "Shadows of God on Earth" could not lead their subjects.

Abdul Hamid's one serious pan-Islamic effort, the building of the Hejaz railroad, came too late to ward off revolution against himself in 1909, or to prevent the disintegration of the empire. The building of the railroad was designed to reconcile the Arabs to the Turkish Caliphate, for which they had no liking, and to provoke a Muslim counter-agitation to the insistent British and French demands for the recognition of the Christian minorities in the Empire.

Beyond the writing of pompous, constitution-promising documents, as that of 1876, the Sultan was incapable of inventing

any policy that would retain the loyalty of his millions of Christian subjects. Many of these, while they hated the Muslims, detested their fellow Christians of other sects or nationalities with the same measure of bitterness. They moved in fear, and even horror, of the powers which, presuming to champion their cause, had even a keener desire for the possession of their lands.

All that Stamboul understood was as old as the first Othman—contempt for all non-Turks even though they were followers of Islam. Further, every Muslim hated the Armenian, who, in turn, despised the Greek, who loathed the Slav, and vice versa. To cultivate these enmities to the point of brutal massacre, Tartar pillage and exhibitions of medieval ferocity, and thus rule by dividing forces, was the Sultan's only policy. That so little of the carnage that took place between 1871 and 1879 occurred in Palestine was due to the remote but useful barrier of the Taurus Mountains on the north, and the Anglo-French hold on Egypt. For once, geographic isolation served Palestine, but it could not serve to develop the country, while the Balkan provinces were being convulsively disentangled from their centuries-old dependence on Turkey.

Moreover, these struggles were no longer local issues. They, too, were part of the Eastern Question. To England, after 1870, the problem was not only the old fear of Russian encroachment in the Mediterranean, but the alignment of the Western powers against the Triple Alliance. Since Turkey feared her Russian neighbor in all things, great and small, the Turkish dependence on England was her one hope; but England was hopelessly divided when the Bulgarian atrocities provided every reason for the denunciation of Muslim Turk and defense of Christian victims.

Turkey having lost Serbia, thus drifted into war with Russia, in 1877-78, without preparation, without an army, and without means. The administrative incompetence was such that of the millions of Christians in the empire only sixteen thousand paid the exemption tax, and the soldiers used in the campaign were wholly Muslim."

Palestine contributed five thousand fellaheen, and the coun-

try suffered great distress during the campaign. When in 1877 the government spread news of great victories in Europe, the Christians and Jews went in fear of their lives. Russia, which had declared a religious war, dictated the terms of peace at San Stefano, and, but for the British, would have taken Constantinople. The map of Europe having been changed by the Franco-Prussian War of 1870, Great Britain acknowledged the impotence of France by accepting Germany as a diplomatic make-weight in the post-war negotiations. For the first time the powers met in Berlin, and with bated breath watched Benjamin Disraeli, aided by Bismarck, decide the destinies of Europe and carve up the Turkish Empire. Though Bismarck is reported to have said that the East was not worth "the bones of a single Pomeranian grenadier," the immediate aftermath of the Berlin Congress was the German *Drang nach Osten*.

In the tangled web which Disraeli spun so adroitly, and with so much zest, he was careful to recognize the French historic claim in Syria. This was his explanation for not landing British troops in Syria during the war, and for acquiring Cyprus,⁸⁷ visible on a clear day from Haifa, for Great Britain.

The German Oriental adventure, inspired by the Berlin Congress, was thus most precisely delimited by politico-geographic considerations. From 1880 Germany kept steadily within these bounds. To reach Baghdad as a railroad terminus, Germany kept within contiguous Turkish territory, along the southern shores of the Black Sea. She obtained, at the same time, a foothold in Palestine by a series of carefully planned educational, mercantile and shipping operations, as well as by religious institutional buildings, like the German hospice near the Damascus gate, and the Sanatorium on Olivet—now the residence of the High Commissioner. These carefully planned efforts did much to create the conditions which prevailed at the outbreak of the World War. Palestine, which was only remotely associated in the Russo-Turkish War, experienced all its most important repercussions in the decades that followed. When Disraeli returned to England from the Berlin Congress, bringing "peace with honor," none of these consequences were even remotely foreseen. So little agreement was there in Eng-

land as to his Eastern policy that it was alleged that "had England been drawn into the conflict it would have been in some measure a Jewish war, a war waged with British blood to uphold the objects of Jewish sympathy or to avenge Jewish wrongs,"³⁸ an oblique reference to Disraeli's picturesque assertion that he took Cyprus because of its "propinquity to Palestine."

VI

The unrest in Eastern Europe, and the simultaneous persecution of the Jews in Russia and Roumania led to a considerable immigration into Palestine, though the country afforded the Jews no economic opportunity. The immigration affected Jaffa, for though two-thirds of its nineteen thousand inhabitants went barefooted,³⁹ the walls were demolished in 1879, in order to permit an enlargement of the town. Jerusalem was in no better plight. The majority of its inhabitants were "mendicants and beggars,"⁴⁰ a correct description in view of the fact that Christians and Jews were wholly dependent on foreign relief. What wonder then that the long projected Jaffa-Jerusalem railroad resulted in nothing more than an "annual demonstration"⁴¹ in the form of some surveying?

The Egyptian War, and a cholera epidemic, checked whatever progress might have otherwise been possible between 1880 and 1884. Owing to these causes the exports fell off fifty per cent, and the imports fifteen per cent at Jaffa. The total trade turnover was a mere bagatelle. Oranges, olive oil, sesame seed, and soap represented the bulk of the \$869,550 exports, and the imports totalled \$614,175. An epidemic of fever was followed by a plague of influenza so serious that business was suspended for a time, and the American consul wrote home that "depression" was a "chronic ailment."⁴²

VII

The resettlement of Jews in Palestine became a noticeable factor in the increase of the population, after 1830. Neither plague, disease, nor poverty discouraged them. Overwhelmingly these settlers came to live out their later years in pious works

and prayer. They depended wholly on charity for means of sustenance. Their settlement, survival, and the families they raised, provided endless problems for the Jews in the rest of the world, who established a remarkable variety of charitable institutions in Palestine. Out of the pittances that were sent them the immigrants managed to accumulate resources to finance a few efforts, in which they took the initiative. The suburbs added to Jerusalem, to Jaffa and to Haifa were financed locally. The settlers, too, made some contribution to religious literature. The Spanish Jews, who had kept the ancient Castilian tongue alive, after centuries of separation from the Iberian peninsula, published, in Ladino, a considerable number of books on all sorts of subjects. The first Hebrew weekly, *Ha Lebanon*, was founded in Jerusalem in 1864, and was followed by *Habazeleth* ("The Rose"), in 1877, which for many years was the only publication, approximating a weekly newspaper, printed in Palestine.

As all the newcomers were poor, and the settled population indigent, there was much protest in the west against the persistent addition to the "poor of Jerusalem," whose demands for aid were as innumerable as human needs. The number of Jewish immigrants swelled, despite the unhappy reports of local conditions in Palestine which circulated in the Jewish press. The settlement was, however, distinctly urban in character. Of the seven thousand Jews who settled in 1882, four thousand remained in Jerusalem, two thousand in Jaffa and a thousand at Hebron,⁴³ where they resided in "El Cortigo," a Spanish Ghetto.

The steady increase of the Jewish population was a recurrent theme in all publications referring to Palestine. The Jewries of Acre, Haifa, Safed and Tiberias grew, but Jerusalem was the chief attraction to the newcomers. From three thousand in 1837, the Jewish population rose in 1892 to over twenty-five thousand,⁴⁴ and by 1895 it had increased to thirty thousand, seven hundred and ninety-four, out of a total population of fifty-one thousand.⁴⁵ To the European immigrants were added Jews from Bokhara, and in 1909 a considerable number came from Yemen.

Although the Temple colonies were not making notable prog-

ress, and an American colony from the State of Maine, located near Jaffa, had failed,"⁴⁶ and the tax extortions inhibited faith in profitable farming in Palestine, the desire to cultivate the land began to sway some of the Palestinian Jews. The sentiment was considerably encouraged, owing to the European persecutions, by the political agricultural plans of Laurence Oliphant⁴⁷ and the nationalistic economic ideas which spread among the Jews in Eastern Europe.⁴⁸ The support of agricultural efforts, however, was soon limited to the aid given by the Chovevi Zion (Lovers of Zion) and Baron Edmond de Rothschild.

Ignoring the attempt made at Shefa 'Amr in the fifties, which was abandoned owing to the extortions of the tax gatherers,⁴⁹ Jewish agricultural development in Palestine began rather inauspiciously in 1873 at Moza, near Jerusalem, and in 1878 at Petach Tikvah, on land to the northwest of Jaffa. The Alliance Israélite Universelle, under the influence of Charles Netter, founded in the same neighborhood, in 1870, the Jewish Agricultural School, named Mikveh Israel. This school, which has existed ever since, played no great part in the actual Jewish colonization of Palestine,⁵⁰ though it served as an incentive and as a school of instruction. Both the original attempts at settlement were soon abandoned. Jewish agricultural colonization is therefore generally regarded as dating from 1882, when Rishon le-Zion was founded in the same district.

The actual settlers were immigrants from Russia and Roumania. Two other colonies were founded about the same time, Zichron Jacob in the Haifa district, and Rosh Pinah in northern Galilee, which was devoted to mulberry plantations for silk raising.⁵¹ These with Petach Tikvah, which was re-established the same year, constitute the senior settlements. The geographic spread indicated in the first group became characteristic of the settlements that followed to the World War. Three other colonies were founded in the same period. A second group of settlements, beginning with Rehoboth, was started in 1890 and continued in 1895-96. A third group was founded in 1900-04. Sixteen other settlements were started between 1904 and the outbreak of the war.

The tragedy of inexperience in husbandry, physical unfitness,

attempts to cultivate swamp lands in ignorance of the danger of malaria and lack of means, hung over the effort for years.

In 1881 it was estimated that, of the forty thousand Jews in Palestine, not one thousand were agriculturists,⁵² and in 1884 "the consular agent at Jaffa calls attention to the partial failure of the various Jewish colonies near that place."⁵³ Nevertheless, Jews were coming to Palestine, and continued to come, until the Turkish government forbade their landing, modifying this restriction at the request of the American government in 1890 to prohibiting the landing of the Jews in large numbers.⁵⁴ This amelioration served little, for in July, 1891, the restrictions were so severe, that practically no Jews arrived in Palestine for a year,⁵⁵ disturbing "all that respectable class in England and elsewhere who think that Palestine belongs to the Jews."⁵⁶ This suspension of immigration was directly due to the outbreak of cholera; but the restrictions occasioned by the epidemic remained in force against the Jews to the end of the century.⁵⁷

But for the philanthropy of Baron Edmond de Rothschild, and through him, of the Jewish Colonization Association, the effort to convert an urban people into agriculturists, and change an apparent stony and devastated soil into fertile land would not have succeeded.

The economic progress of these settlements was slow. Besides individual inexperience in agriculture, the settlements were devoted to crops which, like wine, found no export market, though one of the largest groups of cellars in the world were built at Rishon le-Zion; or they raised wheat at a cost wholly prohibitive, compared with western prices. Endless experiments in crops were attempted without success till the orange was accepted as the money crop, and even in that respect the markets were seriously developed only after the World War.

The second group of settlers, stimulated to emigrate by the Odessa Chovevi Zion, repeated all the errors of the first group. Owing, moreover, to the lack of housing facilities and the irregularity of employment, fellaheen had to be employed instead of Jewish day laborers.⁵⁸ Nevertheless, by 1897 the colonies were reported as twenty-two in number, occupying

ninety-two thousand acres, and inhabited by five thousand individuals.⁸⁹

Just prior to the World War these ruralized Jews totalled at ten thousand five hundred—fifty per cent of them located in three of the colonies. Internally the progress of the colonies was once checked by the attempt to re-introduce the old Biblical usage, providing that the land should be allowed to remain fallow each seventh year. Once this issue was decided, by the authority of East European rabbis—some colonies still observe the old law—the settlements remained remarkably free of all such religious vagaries as disturbed non-Jewish settlements in Palestine.

The relations of the Jews and their Arab neighbors were generally good, the only serious difficulties being experiences in Mettulah, in the north, where the Druzes and Arabs made persistent raids, and in the Trans-Jordan lands, where the Rothschild administration was forced to allow the Jews to withdraw. It could make no satisfactory arrangements with its Arab tenants, who still occupy the land.⁹⁰ The Templars had brought some agricultural machinery into the country. The Jews brought more modern appliances, and their Muslim neighbors, who were fairly prosperous, were not slow to follow their example.

The Turkish government not only hindered the agricultural advance by restricting immigration, but it did all in its power to prevent the Jews obtaining ownership of the land. Laurence Oliphant in 1880 believed that a Jewish settlement in Palestine would stabilize the Turkish Empire. He was supported by the great and powerful in England. Though theoretically every official in Stamboul supported his quixotic project, he found himself baffled by the circumlocutions of the Turkish administration.⁹¹ The Jews were no better treated in the matter of their title deeds. Every sale from local owner to Jew was subject to endless graft in Palestine and in Constantinople, and titles were withheld on one pretext or the other.

That much of the land was held by the Crown merely added to the confusion and difficulty. In 1892 Jaffa landowners, on whose property orange plantations had been established, were

notified by Constantinople they would have to surrender all their freehold deeds, and in exchange receive documents showing that they were tenants of crown lands. Someone had discovered that this area was made part of the imperial domain in 1517. The case was not fought in any court, but wholesale bribery was employed to prevent the imperial order being carried out.⁵²

In 1901 the Turkish resistance went so far that on the sale of lands the Arabs were forced to sign an agreement that they would not resell to Jews or permit a church or a school to be erected on the property.⁵³ This seems to have been effective, for the figures of 1913 showed no advance in acreage acquired over 1897.

To the Turkish government the Jewish agricultural settlement was, however, part of a larger movement. It regarded the immigrants as dangerous to its interest, because most of them came from Russia. While it denied the Jews citizenship in the Russian Empire, the Muscovite government claimed all these Jewish settlers in Palestine as its subjects, and the Jews, like the Christian pilgrims, were regarded as instruments of Russian intrigue. Turkish citizenship was neither easy to acquire for a mass of strangers nor desirable, for it involved military service. The opposition of the government was manifest in 1887,⁵⁴ and it did not improve in 1897, when the Jewish nationalistic aspect began to dominate the movement. From September, 1897, the Zionists under the leadership of Theodor Herzl were discussing the political acquisition of Palestine, and in September, 1898, two months before the Zionist leader presented the question to William II. in Jerusalem, the "entry of foreign Israelites into Palestine was prohibited" and orders given to prevent their landing.⁵⁵ In the following year the government began issuing "red tickets" to Jews—passports good from thirty to ninety days.

By this time it was estimated that "out of a total population in Palestine of some 200,000 souls, about 40,000 were Jews, as against 14,000 twenty years ago."⁵⁶ These settlers, urban and rural, brought with them a great determination, and considerable culture. They founded schools with their settlements,

they published weeklies, monthlies and quarterlies and annuals —no less than twenty-two Hebrew publications had made their appearance in Palestine by 1900. Under the pressing enthusiasm of one individual, himself a Russian Jew by birth, Eliezer Ben-Jehudah, they adopted Hebrew as a living modernized tongue and employed it as the basis of that nationalization of life which in Palestine was their fundamental objective.

Their settlement was checked by the Turkish government; and the growth of Jewish nationalism was hindered by the activities of the Jewish agencies which had established schools and institutions in Palestine. These organizations served the political or cultural interests of the lands in which they originated. The German Jews, who were the last to come on the Palestine scene, did most for education and Germanization. The exciting Jewish pre-war incident in 1913 was the strike of the Jewish teachers and their pupils. It was the first natural exhibition of Jewish nationalism. Teachers and scholars, in this idealistic strike, successfully threw off Germanization. Hebrew, thereafter, was the fundamental language of instruction in Palestine.

VIII

In 1887 a road was surveyed from Acre to Damascus for a railroad system which was to be financed by the Greek Palestine family, Sursuk. The Sultan, frugally, immediately acquired considerable holdings to the east of the Plain of Esdrælon,⁶⁷ but the entrepreneurs withdrew from the project. An impetus had been given to the projected Jaffa-Jerusalem line, and ground was broken for it in March, 1890. The line was opened for traffic in September, 1892. The concession was granted to a French company, but the road which cost two million dollars was made an international task. The locomotives were supplied from the United States, the rails came from one country, the cars from another, and the engineers, surveyors, etc., from various parts of Europe. The impetus given to local travel was considerable, but the road was run at a loss.

Its development, however, served as an incentive for the building of carriage roads in every direction. Most of these

were of poor construction, but they were the first roads built in Palestine since the Crusades. Pilgrims and tourists came in increasing numbers. But this gain was offset by the complete loss of the Mecca pilgrims who, after the opening of the Hejaz railroad, no longer passed through Palestine. Modernity did not, however, discourage the raiding habits of the Bedouins, for from 1891 to 1895 there was considerable fighting around Petra, and traffic in southern Trans-Jordan was impossible.⁶⁶

There had been a steady influx of royal visitors in the decades under review. The present King of England, and his brother, the Duke of Clarence, came in 1882, and a succession of Austrian and German princes about ten years later. Great preparations were made for the visit of William II., in November, 1898. The German Emperor was at the height of his influence in Constantinople, and his trip to Palestine called for extraordinary arrangements. The old wall of Jerusalem was broken down, at the Jaffa Gate, so as to enable the emperor to ride into the city in full state. The breach has never been closed. As a memorial of this august visit, a wholly inappropriate monument was erected above the wall, but it was removed by the British after 1920.

The road from Jaffa to Haifa was repaired, and a jetty built for the imperial landing at the latter port, near to the German colony. The carriage road from Jaffa to Jerusalem was also put into shape. Even a telegraph line was laid between Jerusalem and Jericho, which as the chronicler laments was never used. All buildings were washed, and all dogs removed. Palestine under orders from Constantinople put on its best dress for what "ranks as the most spectacular feature of conflicting claims and jarring diplomacy,"⁶⁷ for the possession of the Near East. The Kaiser who was accompanied by the Empress, and his Minister of State, von Bülow, dedicated the German Protestant Church in the Muristan. Outside of the Jaffa Gate, on November 2, he received a Zionist delegation headed by Theodor Herzl.

But neither the imperial cavalcade nor the oracular imperial responses to delegations made more than a temporary impression locally. Unquestionably, Germany had replaced both Eng-

land and Russia in Constantinople, but neither the Turks nor the Arabs were impressed by the German pro-Muslim propaganda, which was vigorously introduced prior to the imperial visit, and was continued with still greater zeal well into the World War. The Jews, by the efforts of the Hilfsverein der Deutschen Juden, were to an extent brought under German influence. All the Christian elements held fast to their traditional affiliations, when Germany entered the lists as a candidate for the protectorate of the churches in 1905, when France adopted its anticlerical laws, and Austria claimed to be the beneficiary of the rights which France forfeited. Again, however, France announced that her anticlericalism was not an article for export; and she held steadfast by her traditional position in the East.

Meanwhile local development went forward at a steady pace. In 1901 Beersheba, after a lapse of centuries, was restored to public notice by the appointment of a lieutenant governor, at what even then was nothing but a trading post. Excluding nomads, and these in small numbers, the southland, except Gaza and a few villages, had been empty during the whole of the nineteenth century. To 1900 Beersheba had no permanent inhabitants, but about that year the government obtained control of the Negeb, and in order to exercise police power over the Bedouins established a station at the site of the Biblical wells. In 1909 Beersheba was "a straggling little town with government buildings, a few stores . . . and dwelling houses for eight hundred people."⁷⁰ In the fifteen-mile ride from Debir to Beersheba there was "no sign of any village, merely three ruins, and the tents of some Bedouins." Conditions were so poor that seven thousand five hundred acres in the Negeb were leased out by the government for two thousand dollars a year.⁷¹

About a year later some Jews laid the foundation on a sand spit outside of Jaffa, of a wholly modern town which they named Tel Aviv because the Hebrew translation of Theodor Herzl's novel "Altneuland" had been so entitled.*

* Freely translated, Tel Aviv means Springdale, which has no application to the remarkable urban development that has taken place there. Tel Aviv is one of the first towns named in Babylonian Jewish history.

The forcing of the non-Muslims into military service shattered their faith in Enver Bey and his party. Disappointment at the Young Turk leadership started an emigration to Egypt,⁷² and resulted in an increase in the Muslim pilgrimages to Nebi Musa and Nebi Saleh, near Ramleh.

In actual practice this policy of Turkification was only new in the aggressive manner in which it was pursued. The Turkish officials in Palestine, at all times, had declined to speak Arabic officially. In fact most of them did not know it. This resistance went back to Mamluk days, for the Arab historians noted with pride, or pleasure, when a Mamluk sovereign knew Arabic passably well. The Young Turks discouraged the use of the language in the schools, but as most of these were of the religious type their influence in that direction must have been very small. The real crime of the Young Turks, and politically it was a serious offense, was that they "gave a promise to the ear and broke it to the hope." They did not consider the Syrian and Palestinean population as people to be placated, and over the desert folk they had no control.

By 1910, with the government financially embarrassed and the constitution so much paper, a widespread movement for decentralization began to shake the provinces. These repercussions were particularly manifest in Syria and Palestine. In 1912 this agitation assumed such proportions as to threaten to become a dangerous separatist movement. To prevent the dismemberment of the empire, the government passed the Provisional Vilayet Law which granted the provinces a considerable measure of local autonomy. "To the people of Palestine and Syria it came not as a favor granted by a benevolent government, but rather as a just recognition of their rights and aspirations."⁷³ This law was elaborated in 1913, and further amended by the Ottoman Law of April 16, 1914. In this form local autonomy was fairly established—on paper.

IX

Whatever the merits or demerits of the Young Turk policy, it had little opportunity to exercise itself in civil matters. From 1911 to 1912 Turkey was drawn into the inglorious war with

Italy, and was at war in the Balkans during 1912 and 1913. The development of agriculture and industry was greatly hampered, the government needed revenue and soldiers.

The Greek War of 1897 was Turkey's solitary real victory in a century. In Palestine the government merely endeavored to maintain the *status quo*, while foreign influences from 1880 were so successful in their policy of peaceful penetration, that hotels and hostels, charitable and educational institutions were established in many directions. By 1914, Palestine, except for the Lebanon was the most advanced of the Asiatic districts of the Turkish Empire, but the advance was neither Turkish nor Arabic, except that the latter had become politically minded. Its foreign residents, and the German and Jewish colonies (the latter fifty-nine in number) were so many islands of progress. If the Turkish officials still slept, some of the Arabs were beginning to wake from their inertia.⁷⁴

X

The picture of the inward life of Palestine at the date of the outbreak of the World War did not materially differ from that which it presented half a century earlier. The *miri* system still prevailed in land holdings. The government attempted to solve the problem of reforming the cadaster in 1913, but as it was grappling with a commonplace of western jurisprudence—the existence of the juridical personality involved in the existence of corporations—no great progress was possible. The sale of land remained subject to the approval of the cadastral body, thus preventing sales to foreigners.

The taxes were farmed. Even the fishing rights on Lake Tiberias were rented for one-fifth interest payable to the government, which yielded about a thousand pounds, Turkish, every three years.⁷⁵ The fellah's daughter was worth fifty dollars to her father on her marriage, and the laborers in the Jewish colonies were earning twenty-five cents a day for unskilled labor. Rent in these settlements cost three dollars a month, and a family needed in addition twelve dollars a month for food.⁷⁶ There was an eleven per cent ad valorem duty on all imports, and this rate, according to local reports, gave a

preference to imports over local manufactures. The one note of official progress was the grant, in 1912, of an oil concession to the Standard Oil Company, which built an excellent stretch of road to Kornkub—the rest of the effort disappeared in the mazes of the war.

But the country was unkempt, not to say frowsy. The "golden city" was paved with "sour filth" ⁷⁷ and "of all cities of the world . . . begging reaches to its highest development as an art and craft." ⁷⁸ The soldiers in Acre appeared as "ruinous as the fortifications." ⁷⁹ Tiberias was famous for its dirt. ⁸⁰ And Nazareth was the scene of "every religious competition." ⁸¹

There were according to all reports six hundred thousand people in Palestine in 1914. Of these one-sixth were Jews, and these Jews, besides representing all western lands, made a complete catalogue of the Oriental world: Yemenites, Persians, Kurds, Bokharians, Babylonians, Orfalians, Moroccans, Maghrabians, and Syrians, principally from Aleppo, and Jews from Daghestan. A considerable element among them was known as *Muta'arbin*, that is Arabized Jews. This conglomeration was mostly concentrated in Jerusalem, Safed and Haifa. The Zionists had in 1902 established the Anglo-Palestine Company, the first wholly Palestinian bank to operate in the country. Between the Zionists and other Jewish agencies, the land was fairly covered with institutions and schools. The Bezalel Arts and Crafts school had been founded in 1905 and the Hebrew Gymnasium, the first high school in Jaffa, in 1907. In a score of ways the Jews introduced a new intellectual life into the country, though as this effort was accompanied by an intense cultivation of Hebrew, the cultural development probably escaped all those unfamiliar or uninterested in that tongue. The agricultural settlements had weathered the long storm. "The fellahin of the plain of Sharon . . . see in the Jew their greatest enemy . . . around Jaffa the Jewish colonies are undoubtedly successful, so much so that the native population is sorely jealous." ⁸²

Peace and harmony prevailed among the considerable number of foreigners who had been drawn to Jerusalem by mis-

sionary and scientific interests. Jerusalem, which had so often gossiped of world war and the engulfing of Palestine in new alignments, woke in August, 1914, without the slightest premonition that Palestine had become a factor in a struggle which radically changed its history, its character, and its destiny.

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CHAPTER XXI

THE WORLD WAR—1914 TO 1918

PALESTINE, and all the Near East, were inextricably involved in the fateful and world-embracing struggle into which the western powers plunged, in August, 1914. In 1917, consequent on two Palestinean attacks on the Suez Canal, Allied military strategists discovered that the primary reason for the British advance into Palestine was the defense of Egypt. That was a professional afterthought. Keen rivalry to acquire territory in Asia Minor, reflecting the old diplomatic question of the balance of power, was the prime cause of the war. Though neither its dimensions nor its duration was even remotely gauged, all observers of the intrigues and struggles for power in the East had long come to regard world conflict as inevitable.

For more than a decade before hostilities began, the politicians of Jerusalem were watching with keen interest, but with no apprehension, the struggle for the possession of Koweit. They understood that any attempt to obtain mastery in the Persian Gulf involved a battle royal for the whole of Asia Minor. Sickened by the failures and airs of the Young Turks, the Syrians were quite willing to face a change. Weighing the wholly partisan information available, it appears that the Palestineans listened to the German propaganda, and told the British that they were looking forward to their coming. Pan-Arab agitation had made little headway in Palestine. There was no native local leadership. When, almost immediately on the declaration of war, the British started their military-political Oriental negotiations, they went as far east as Mecca to find someone with whom, among other matters, they could discuss Palestine.

Turkey having, since 1900, definitely cast her lot with Ger-

many, and having supported every advance of German interests in Palestine, clash at Gaza was as inevitable as the attack and defense of Paris. On September 9, 1914, the Turkish government denounced the vexing "capitulations." * At about the same date the Palestine Exploration Fund decided not to publish its survey map of Southern Palestine, in order to avoid giving aid and comfort to the enemy, Turkey delayed her other official act, the abrogation of the independence of the Lebanon, to 1916. These, however, were mere formalities.

"Turkey was expected not only to defend the straits and protect her frontiers at immense distances, but conquer Egypt, make Persia independent . . . threaten India from Afghanistan. . . . Germany is to be blamed for the lack of calm and clear judgment of what was within the powers of Turkey. It seems that thoughts of the tales of the Thousand and One Nights, or the *fata morgana* of the Arabian desert dimmed judgment at home." ¹

Palestine went to war on October 29, 1914, when some Turkish irregulars crossed the Egyptian frontier. The Allies' formal declaration of hostilities was delayed to November 5.

In Germany the foremost exponents of the *Drang nach Osten* believed "victory or defeat—at least political victory or defeat—depends upon the preservation of Turkey and of the liberty of our communications with her."² This the *New York Evening Mail* (August 25, 1915), a frankly German subsidized organ, translated as: "if Turkey is beaten and divided among the allies it would be the end of Weltpolitik, and Germany would cease to be a world power."

On the other hand, the French were claiming:

"When we speak of the creation of a French Protectorate in Syria we do not mean a sanctionless authority, limited by revocable conventions, or a fragmentary possession. . . . No logical denial and no economic quibble could be raised against the secular right of France to the protectorate, not only of the Holy Land but of the whole of Syria."³

* The American government, which remained neutral towards Turkey throughout the whole struggle, refused to yield its rights under the system. While neutrality enabled the American ambassador in Constantinople and the consuls to act, particularly to serve in all relief measures, no rights afforded by the capitulations could be exercised throughout the war.

The French were insistent on these rights which another writer viewed as extending from the Taurus Mountains to the Egyptian border. "Syria and Palestine form an indissoluble union." But the internationalization of Jerusalem and Bethlehem were conceivable.*

Prior to this pronouncement, July, 1915, Colonel Lawrence and Colonel Storrs, afterwards governor of Jerusalem, were negotiating with Hussein, Sherif of Mecca who, having no liking for his Turkish co-governor of Arabia, took the initiative in trading with the British, by writing to Lord Kitchener. In his letter of July 14, 1915, Hussein asked for the recognition of the independence of an Arabia which should extend from the 37th degree of latitude north, to the Indian Ocean on the south, and to the Mediterranean on the west.⁵ The real author of this document has not been disclosed, but on October 24, 1915, Sir Henry McMahon sent an encouraging reply which included the peculiar sentence: "Great Britain will guarantee the Holy Places against all external aggression and will recognize their individuality." The point, made by the British general, that reflects on the causes of the war was in relation to the future Arab state: "such European advisors and officials as may be required for the function of a sound form of administration will be British."⁶

If the Turks had not made their futile attacks on the Suez Canal the war might have evolved as a movement from the east, as part of the Mesopotamian campaign, instead as happened, a costly and slow attack from the south. As events shaped themselves Palestine was not only a cause of the war, but the Palestinian campaign became one of its most spectacular phases. The Turkish defeat at Megiddo was a dramatic factor in bringing the struggle to an end.

II

The Turks paid bitterly for the contempt they had always displayed towards the Arabs. They had never condescended to speak Arabic.⁷ They had always treated the Syrians as a vanquished people, and the land as a conquered land. The only loyalists in Palestine were Turkish officials and soldiers. No

religious issue was raised to inflame the Syrians who, at best, were reconciled to the war because Turkey was opposing Russia. One-fifth of the population was alien, and of these the Jews, the most numerous, were not pro-Russian. A handful of the functionaries brought in by the German organizations were of course pro-German. The Zionists who concentrated at Tel Aviv were pro-Ally. Their homes were constantly searched, and a number of them were imprisoned. A few Jews suffered the extreme penalty for serving the Allied cause, but Djemal Pasha, "the greater," was circumspect in the exercise of the arbitrary powers vested in him. He was in a unique position, an autocrat representing a government against which all forces conspired. He had to contend with a crowd of German and Austrian officials, given almost equal powers, who possessed little knowledge of local conditions. Djemal Pasha played safe, as far as western opinion was concerned. In Syria he executed some hundreds of men opposed to the Young Turk régime and deported many others. He could fairly describe them as rebels.

Facing the British preparations for an advance, in March, 1917, he ordered the Arabs to evacuate Jaffa. At the end of the same month he more brutally compelled eight thousand Jews to leave the town. Germans, Austrians, Hungarians, and Bulgarians he treated all alike. He probably, and rightly, suspected all of them of lacking sympathy for himself. On April 9 they all departed, leaving their belongings behind. Djemal did nothing to check the loot and pillage by the Bedouins which immediately followed.

The war paralyzed trade, for all supplies were immediately commandeered for the army. The civil population suffered from hunger, the price of bread ultimately rose elevenfold. Typhus, smallpox, typhoid and cholera spread. The banks were closed, and moratorium instituted. The improvisation of paper money, issued on the credit of the American Zionist organization, and which all elements of the population accepted, did much to keep things going. The situation was considerably relieved by transferring about half of the Jewish population, and other aliens, to refugee camps in Egypt. The American

government permitted the use of the *Tennessee*, and the *Des Moines*, for this purpose, and later allowed the collier *Vulcan* to take food and clothing to Palestine. From the refugees from Palestine Colonel Patterson recruited his Zion Mule Corps, which did duty with the Allies in Gallipoli.

Largely owing to American bounty, Palestine was kept alive during four years of excruciating misery. By American aid, too, the Zionist institutions in Palestine were maintained, so that they could be described as "a going concern" at the end of the war.

A curious insensitiveness to local feeling runs through the local war story. A German, General Bach, was appointed Governor of Jerusalem, crushing what little self-respect the Arab mayor could manifest. The Germans were loud in their complaints of Turkish incompetence, and of Arab filth and sloth. The German high command was entrusted to General von Falkenhayn, whose headquarters were in Constantinople. The Palestinian campaign, to 1918, was directed by General von Frankenberg, though the forces in the field were under the leadership of General Kress von Kressenstein, and a host of divisional commanders and officers, not all of whom were Germans.

The Turks, however, maintained a firm grip on the actual fighting forces. An army of one hundred and fifty thousand men was mustered under the direct control of Djemal Pasha, "the lesser." Twenty thousand of the soldiers were Turks from Anatolia. The rest were Syrian and Palestinian natives. But like Lawrence's desert army the forces were considerably on paper. For the British, the Bedouins fought on occasion in the hope of loot, and in consideration of cash. Djemal's army had little prospect of loot; pay and food were scarce, equipment mostly out of date. Desertion was the common practice, and vaunted after the war.

Whatever were the conditions in Central Europe there is little evidence of practical preparedness by the Germans for the Eastern campaign. Despite the excellent work of so many painstaking surveyors, there was little military understanding of the topography of the country. In so backward a country

as Palestine, railroads had to be improvised. The principal line was run to Beersheba, and later to El Auja, in the desert, where the Turkish headquarters were maintained in the first half of the war. Another road connected Acre with Damascus via Safed, but for this purpose a stretch of the Jaffa-Jerusalem line was torn up. The war introduced the automobile into the country, though one was in use in 1912.

A distinct suggestion of Turkish distrust of the whole situation underlay the struggle in Palestine. The greatest concentration of stores for military purposes was made at Koniah, within easy reach of Constantinople, but hundreds of miles from Palestine, and reachable only over bad roads. When that supply base was fired, early in 1917, the main resource of the German-Turkish offensive in Palestine disappeared, and could not be replenished.

The Turkish offensive took the futile form of an attack on the Suez Canal by twenty thousand men early in February, 1915. It was easily checked, and the army returned to its Palestinean base. In September, 1916, a second attack, with about as large an army, was attempted against the Canal. This time the Arabs dragged some heavy guns across the desert. The engagement was a brief one, the Egyptians under British officers showing marked ability for shooting their fellow Muslims. Djemal Pasha reported a great victory, and explained his retirement as due to a tremendous sandstorm. The returning soldiers, wounded and disheartened, having left thousands of their comrades dead on the sands at Kantara, turned the local tide toward the Allies.

On the side of the Allies, the British dominated the Near Eastern campaign. At critical moments, however, small French and Italian contingents were present and participated in events. The British offensive was a close copy of that adopted by Lord Kitchener when, after numerous failures, he pacified and conquered the Soudan. To reach Palestine the British had to cross the Sinai Peninsula. They bridged the desert with two railroad lines. Both are still in existence, the one used for commercial traffic running from Kantara East to Lydda, the other a military road which is financed from the Palestinean exchequer. In addition, the British conceived the ingenious and practical

idea of piping Nile water at the Sweet Water Canal, and of conveying it in American wooden pipes along the shore railroad, thus supplying the troops. Eventually wells were also dug at the Palestinean extremity of the desert. The army moved with the extension of the railhead. This method of approach checked all large-scale warfare throughout 1915 and 1916, but skirmishes were constant, and the advance through Sinai was continually but unsuccessfully disputed.

In the meantime, the Palestinean population suffered acutely. Djemal Pasha directed, or permitted, the first scientific treatment of locusts, which in 1914 ravaged the crops, stripped the trees, and destroyed many of the vineyards. All the man power in the country having been requisitioned, business was suspended, and to provide fuel for the increased military railroad traffic, even the olive groves were widely destroyed.⁸

Coming from the south, thousand-times battle-scarred Gaza was the first object of attack. The Turkish concentration rested principally on Beersheba. The British under General Sir Archibald Murray, in minor skirmishes from El Katia to El Arish, fought its way through the desert, and then made camp at Wady Ghuzzeh. On March 26 the first attack was launched on Gaza when the troops fought their way through a mirage. But being too far from their pipe line and railhead, and opposed by a Turkish army of forty thousand, the British were compelled to withdraw.

A second attack, on April 17, which lasted three days, was equally unsuccessful. Throughout the summer that followed the British held grimly to their desert lines, while the Turks, greatly encouraged and officered by Austrians and Germans, accumulated great stores, heavy guns, and aëroplanes, with the advantage of the fertile plains in their rear. The British army was composed of men from London, Worcestershire, Warwickshire, Berkshire, Buckinghamshire, Oxfordshire, and Dorsetshire, together with the mounted Anzacs from Australia and New Zealand, Indian and West Indian troops and the French and Italian contingents. By the end of 1916 General Murray sent one hundred and fifty thousand men from Palestine to reinforce the Western front.⁹

General Murray was replaced on June 28, 1917, by Lord

Allenby. After months of preparation the war was resumed on October 26, 1917, when the railhead was within fourteen miles of Gaza, which was bombarded from the sea by British, French and Russian squadrons. Simultaneous land attacks were made on the town and on Beersheba. Circulars showered from aeroplanes promised, in the name of Hussein, the liberation of the Arabs from Turkish rule. The heaviest fighting took place in the Beersheba area, which was captured on November 2. On the morning of the same day the outer defenses between Gaza and the sea were captured.

On November 6th the British infantry moved northward from Beersheba, and by midnight Gaza was taken with little opposition, fifteen thousand prisoners and one hundred guns falling into their hands. The battle continued all through the night, the British consolidating every advance they made and the Anzacs riding into Sheria in the early dawn. The Turkish line thus crumbled quickly.

By November 9th the mounted troops were through Ascalon and Mejdol, and in possession of Ashdod; the Australians by rapid movements took El Tineh, where the Turkish stores were captured. Thirteen thousand Turks still held the ravine at Sukerier, and both sides engaged in trench warfare during several days, while the Turks clung desperately to their line at Beit Jibrin. On November 13 the British were at Katrah and Yabneh. On the 14th they occupied the Wady Rubin. Gezer fell the day following, and the British marched to Lydda and Ramleh, holding a line three miles south of Jaffa.

With Jaffa in their hands the British moved inland. The cavalry, riding through the celebrated pass of Ajalon, reached the lower Beth Horon on November 18. The British infantry fought its way stubbornly to the west of Jerusalem, taking Emmaus and storming Nebi Samuel by November 21. During this bombardment the mosque over the prophet's tomb was destroyed, the only incident of its kind during the war, in which both sides were unusually careful of historic monuments and sites.

The Germans recognized that without reinforcements, which were not available, their position was untenable. While Jeru-

salem was filling with refugees from the panic on the southern front, the German staff prepared for its retirement on Nablus. At the height of the military crisis, Enver Bey came to Jerusalem, but he saw no way of avoiding the catastrophe. By November 17, ten thousand Arabs and five hundred of their officers had deserted. Von Falkenhayn decided to move to Nablus. On being ordered to evacuate, the Jews shed bitter tears, but the native population was stolidly indifferent, "they knew no fatherland."¹⁰

Thanks to the Beersheba railroad line, for the first time in its history Jerusalem was approached by troops from the south-east, as well as from the west. A large British force remained encamped on the Aujah—which led to the demolition of the village and plantations of Kfar Saba—while an army concentrated at Ain Karim, and at Bar Kokba's Bettir. Another British force took Hebron on December 8, and passed rapidly through Bait Jala and Bethlehem. Jerusalem was thus surrounded on its three approaches.

III

Both sides avoided a bombardment of Jerusalem. The failure of the attack on Nebi Musa was the signal for the retreat of the German, Austrian and Turkish staffs. The city was short of supplies, and for a few days the inhabitants went in fear of a siege, and starvation. The military staff withdrew on the night of December 8, the Governor, Izzet Bey, leaving a letter of surrender for the victors.

Nothing is historically more casual and less dramatic than the capitulation of Jerusalem. A charmingly humorous version of it is related by a British officer.¹¹ He says one of the British officers encamped around Jerusalem woke up, early on December 9, with a keen desire for ham and eggs. Ham was available, but fresh eggs had not been seen for months. Just then he heard a rooster crowing in the direction of the village of Lifta. Instantly he summoned his orderly, who found the officers' mess cook, who was despatched to discover the whereabouts of the chickens, and their eggs.

The cook disappeared for several hours. When he came

back, he was still minus the eggs, but the recipient of the capitulation of Jerusalem. On the Jerusalem-Jaffa road he had stumbled on an Arab, who with a white flag offered him the surrender of the Holy City. The unbreakfasted officer notified his immediate superior, who set out posthaste to accept the captured city. His superior, hearing of the event, gave chase, only to be outdistanced by a still superior officer, who desired to be the historic victor. Thus Jerusalem was surrendered three times in the morning of December 9. Then word came to postpone the official surrender till General Allenby could reach the city.

The Arab version of the surrender fairly confirms this story:

"About eight o'clock in the morning of the 9th, Hussein Hashim El Husseini the mayor, next-door neighbor of the American Colony, rapped at the door saying, 'Tell mother, for she will be glad to hear it, I am on my way to the military outposts on the Jaffa road with the Letter of Surrender, left by the Governor last night.'"

The Mayor, proceeding to the Italian hospital, took a bed-sheet and, tearing it in two, tied one-half to a broomstick and moved to the British lines with his white flag. From this point the two versions agree singularly well. At the toll house the Mayor found two British sentries, to whom he proffered the Letter of Surrender. The soldiers did not feel qualified to accept it. A Major was summoned, who also was not qualified to accept the document. He notified an artillery Colonel who came to the scene, but he also refused the letter. Acceptance was above his rank.

"Soon Brigadier General Watson came riding up, again the Letter was rejected. At last a message was sent to the corps commander, General Sir John Shea, who met the party at the post office about 1 P.M. It was to him that the Letter of Surrender was officially delivered."¹²

The formal surrender of the city was deferred to December 11, when General Allenby reached Jerusalem. Guided by Sir Mark Sykes, who wrote the address to the inhabitants, which was distributed in many languages, the conqueror and his staff, with detachments of London, Scottish, Irish, and

Welsh regiments, fifty Anzacs, fifty Italians, French officers, M. Georges Picot, some Americans and Muslims, entered the Holy City on foot, as pilgrims.* Jerusalem was placed under martial law. Indian Muslim troops were put in charge of the Haram Area, and a special officer detailed to supervise the Christian Holy places. Borton Pasha was appointed the first British governor of the Holy City.

IV

The British advance was postponed to February, 1918, when Jericho was captured, and the old wooden bridge over the Jordan which the Turks destroyed, was replaced by the steel structure now known as the Allenby Bridge. Then followed another pause.

The Germans had broken through the Allied lines on the west front. Part of the Palestinean army was despatched to Europe, and was replaced by Indian troops and by the Jewish Battalions recruited in England, Canada, and the United States. "Enemy agents let it be known that two Jewish battalions and some French and Italian troops had arrived on the Palestinean front."¹⁸ Though the Turks had eleven divisions between the sea and the Jordan the German officers felt themselves short of man power.

General Liman von Sanders had replaced von Falkenhayn, and made his general headquarters at Nazareth. The German Commander-in-Chief had no absolute control over the Turkish Divisions, and he had considerable differences with Enver Bey, who directed Turkish affairs from Constantinople.¹⁴ The best Turkish troops, entirely staffed by German officers and known as the *Yilderin*, or Lightning Group, were withdrawn from Palestine.¹⁵

The British had the advantage in supplies, equipment and discipline, and in addition had the coöperation of an intelligence force that really knew the country. General Allenby was thus able to set up an orderly schedule of operations which was not

* An instance where romanticism got the better of history. The pilgrims only entered Jerusalem on foot under compulsion. They fought for centuries against this regulation.

only feasible but was carried out with almost clockwork precision.

What followed was a remarkable repetition of military history in Palestine. Successfully feinting an attack on the east, which netted Beisan, the British advanced along the coast, and delivered their most telling and conclusive blow on the ancient mound of Megiddo. The German-Turkish army, centered on Nazareth, was pinned in at the Horns of Hattin, where Saladin defeated the Crusaders; and at Afuleh, where Napoleon vanquished the Turks.

With Lawrence's Arab irregulars coming towards the Jordan—their one recorded participation in the Palestinian war—though there was recruiting for the Sherifian army in Palestine—and the British holding the whole line of the Carmel ridge, the Turks were doomed.

The fatal attack was made on September 19, 1918. With the aid of *aéroplanes* which caught a large force in the southern hollow of the valley, the Turks were routed. Von Sanders managed to escape from Nazareth, but a number of his staff were captured, with their staff maps and documents. For years after the war the Nablusians were searching in their gardens for the money chests which the Germans hastily buried in the ground, before starting on their flight.

The Germans made one more attempt to check the British advance at a position which has always proved fatal for the defender, the Bridge of the Daughters of Jacob, north of Tiberias. The coast towns were taken on schedule, Damascus fell without a struggle, and on October 31, 1918, Turkey surrendered Asia Minor unconditionally.

The World War had been fought for the possession of the East. It was won by the Allies, and lost by the Germans, on the most ancient of battlefields—Palestine. Eleven days after the surrender of Palestine, days during which the end of the war was no longer in doubt—the armistice on the western front brought to a conclusion the most sanguinary and disrupting struggle in human history.

In Palestine war had not lost all of its ancient pomp and glory. Infantry had moved in serried ranks, and swift-riding

cavalry had crossed its plains. As in all its previous history, men of all nationalities and hues fought and died for it. What was new was that the invader left behind him a record of exemplary conduct, towards the inhabitants, during the whole period of hostilities.

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- ¹⁰ Schlachten des Weltkrieges, Reichsarchivs, IV, "Jildirim," Berlin, 1926, pp. 122-23.
- ¹¹ Major Vivian Gilbert, *The Romance of the Last Crusade*, London, 1925, p. 154.
- ¹² Fannie Fern Andrews, *Holy Land Under Mandate*, Boston, 1931, I, pp. 68-9. The incident is confirmed by the monument erected by the Sixtieth London Division at the toll house outside the city, as marking the exact spot of the surrender. The monument is a memorial to comrades "who fell fighting for Jerusalem."
- ¹³ Liman von Sanders, p. 262.
- ¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 263.
- ¹⁵ C. T. Atkinson, *Army Quarterly Review*, London, 1921-2, III, p. 257, *et seq.*

CHAPTER XXII

THE WAR INTRIGUES—1914 TO 1919

THE surrender of Jerusalem on December 9, 1918, signalized the end of Turkish rule in Palestine as clearly as the fall of Acre, in 1291, denoted the end of Christian authority in the country. The Turks stood alone at the Peace Conference in accepting *Kismet*. They asked for no more than a "just, prompt and durable peace," within their own borders.¹

The Turks were gone, but the red fez, evidence of subservience to the Sublime Porte, was more popular as headgear than it had been in the days when the Turk ruled. Other evidences of ancient despotisms, the girdle of the Eastern Christians, the fur cap and kaftan of the Polish Jews, also survived. This conversion of emblems of subjugation into symbols of distinction may be of minor importance, but it denotes a certain lack of self-dependence. It indicates, moreover, the survival of traditions which were of importance in Palestine.

"Occupied Enemy Territory Administration South." That was the new name Palestine acquired temporarily. The wire entanglements which guarded what was familiarly known as "O. E. T. A. South," stretched northward from Kantara at the Egyptian tip of the Sinai Desert. The French with great promptitude occupied Syria, but "O. E. T. A. East" ran from Aqaba north to Aleppo, with Emir Feisal in residence in Damascus, spending each month three hundred thousand dollars, a subsidy given him by the English government.² There was an Arab ruler in Eastern Syria, and an Arab flag was flying in the Middle East.

"O. E. T. A. South" was governed by British officers, under the local rule of General Money. It was not until July, 1919, that the four occupied districts were brought under the direction of General Allenby. In Palestine the rules of The Hague

Convention for occupied areas were applied by the British. This meant upholding the *status quo*, Turkish law and the venal bureaucrats employed by the Turks. The red fez was thus not altogether meaningless. Specifically anxious to settle southern Palestine, where a million dunams (a quarter of a million acres) were unoccupied, and fallow, and believed to be Crown Lands, the Zionists were irritated at the interregnum that was forced upon them, till after 1920. They witnessed with increasing alarm official passivity, in a land which in the war had undergone both subtle and violent changes.

Connected by rail with Egypt, Jerusalem was now only an overnight ride from Port Said. By a circuitous route Damascus could be reached by rail from Lydda. Beersheba was on the railroad. The army and relief agencies had brought in the automobile and the telephone. A military highway connected Jaffa and Jerusalem.

One-fifth of the population had either died, or left the country during the war. Zymotic diseases and malaria were rife, but the Zionist Hadassah Medical Unit, brought in immediately after the fall of Jerusalem, when typhoid and cholera were epidemic, was busy healing the sick and with government support checking malaria in modern scientific, and, to the Arabs, in somewhat bewildering fashion. The Zionist Commission which, under the leadership of Dr. Chaim Weizmann, had been sent by the British to Palestine early in 1918, functioned politically, socially and as a relief agency. The American Red Cross, through the Near Eastern division, had extended its work throughout the country.

Except the destruction of olive yards, orange and almond groves, Palestine suffered no serious damage during the war. On the contrary it gained immensely from the introduction of machinery and modern appliances, from the rigorous demand for sanitation, and from the creation of easy methods of communication. It was suddenly lifted out of the primitive into the contemporary world.

This was a new Palestine. Armies, for the first time in modern history, had fought across it without the fanaticism of religious motives. After a lapse of exactly twelve centuries—the

war under Chosroes—Jewish battalions had aided in the capture of the Land of Promise. During the sessions of the Peace Conference, and the conferences that followed, the local administration maintained a public neutrality. Neither the British nor any other flag was displayed. The hoisting of the French flag, at Sidon, on the anniversary of Bastille Day, sent a chill down the spines of the British in Jerusalem.

The British military party was worried over every symptom of French aggression. Affecting to be non-politically minded, they were equally indifferent to the negotiations with Hussein and to the promises made to the Jews.* Harping on the defense of Egypt, the military desired to keep Palestine and Syria as a unit of administration. To soldiers the development of Haifa "under the guns of Beirut" was unthinkable. Scrupulously adhering to the forms of Turkish law, in all things that affected the indigenous population, the administrators permitted fairly free scope to those official British civilians who devoted themselves to the expansion of British trade, or who meditated restoring Palestine to the manners and methods of the Middle Ages. The concession hunter was abroad in the land.

The Syrian Arabs were restless. Promises had been showered upon them from the skies. Their notables had been called into conference with important British political personalities. A host of verbally vague but far-reaching prospects had been agitated among them, or for them. If they took the promises of Lawrence, the intrigues of Philby, and the romantic proposals of Sir Mark Sykes at their face value, they were treating these negotiators no more seriously than apparently their superiors did in London.

The first public act that followed the surrender of Palestine was the issuance by the Allied Powers of a public declaration on November 9, 1918, explaining that

"France and Great Britain have agreed to encourage and help the establishment of native governments and administrations in Syria and Mesopotamia which have been freed by the allies . . . to bring

* "The military administration . . . was anti-Zionist and perhaps anti-Jewish." From an address, delivered by Dr. Weizmann, at the London Zionist Conference, July, 1920.

to an end Turkish political divisions, too long exploited, such is the rôle which the Allied Governments assume in the liberated territories.”³

This document, like Lord Allenby's address to the people of Jerusalem, was, no doubt, the work of Sir Mark Sykes, who at Hama, at the end of 1918,

“saluted the Arab flag amid immense enthusiasm. The flag had been designed by Mark himself. ‘Black fess for the Abbasids of Baghdad, white for the Ommayyads of Damascus, green for the Alids of Herbelah, and red chevron for Mudhar heredity.’ This flag was flying broadcast through the Middle East.”⁴

Prince Feisal had gone to London and to the Peace Conference, and to emphasize the ambitions of the politically minded, an American group, the King-Crane Commission, appointed by President Wilson, went through Syria and Palestine in the early summer of 1919, inviting expressions of opinion on the merits of “self-determination.”

The Jews were equally nervously hopeful of impending change. The Balfour Declaration of November 2, 1917, had been spread throughout the Orient. A tremendous emotion had been released. The British promise excited Jews crossing the tundras of Siberia; it brought Messianic visions to the cabalists of Morocco. In particular, it swayed the Jews in Palestine. To the moment of the war they had been ground down by the Turkish tax payer, and paid over thirty dollars per family for self-defense, “and even then suffered from insecurity.”⁵

On June 17, 1918, a conference of the Jews of the liberated area had been held at Jaffa, at which Major Ormsby-Gore, Political Officer in charge of the Zionist Commission, speaking for the British Government, told the cheering assembly:

“You are bound together in Palestine by the ideal of building up a Jewish nation in all its various aspects in Palestine, a national centre for Jewry all the world over to look to.”⁶

The *Shomerim*, or guards, were their pride, and policed the Jewish settlements against raiding Bedouins and local acquisitive Arabs. The Palestinian Jews had few illusions as to Arab sentiments, but they now felt armed by the promise of Eng-

land, and the consent and good will of the nations assembled at the Peace Conference. Moreover, what the Jews felt in Palestine was accepted with great faith throughout the Jewish world. However unusual, and unique—this satisfying by the world powers of so ancient an irredenta as the Jewish claim to Palestine—the act had been solemnized with all the public and lawful methods known to civilization. From November 11, 1918, not a moment was lost to give effect to the new order of Jewish life in Palestine. If the military were obstructive and obdurate to Jewish demands, they were soldiers. If Governor Storrs was outrageously pampering Arab leaders in Jerusalem, he was greeting the Jews with Hebrew salutations, and permitting them to put up Hebrew street signs.

The clash between the two elements of the population came on April 4, 1920.

"A serious outbreak in the streets of Jerusalem, Arabs making attacks on Jews in the course of which and of the following operations by the military, nine persons were killed, twenty-two were dangerously and some two hundred seriously wounded. It is noteworthy that the presence of a large number of troops in Palestine failed to prevent these riots; it was however possible to confine the disturbances to Jerusalem and it was quickly suppressed."*

There was to the date of this incident no serious increase in the Jewish population of Palestine. Travel was extremely expensive, ships few, passports were issued under military supervision.

II

The web of political intrigue spun around Palestine was far more important than local experiences, either during the war or immediately afterwards. These experiences were merely feeble reflexes of the diplomacy practiced for possession of the country. If the Near and Middle East still look like a badly basted political crazy-quilt, the explanation lies in the conflict of selfish interests which impinged on Palestine. No crusading spirit or religious interest stirred in the breasts of diplomats.

* Command Paper, 3530, Report of the Commission on the Palestine Disturbances of August, 1929, p. 12. The report of the Military Court of Enquiry set up to enquire into the cause of the disturbances on the occasion of the Nebi Musa Pilgrimage of April 4, 1920, has never been published.

For the first two years of the war the religious problem of "the land of three faiths" narrowed itself to a consideration of adequate protection of the Christian Holy Places. The rivalries which provoked the Crimean War were dead and forgotten ash. The Holy Places were mentioned with the urbanity of disinterestedness. At a pinch the *status quo ante* would have served, with a Turk in possession of as much territory as the western powers did not want for themselves.

On August 16, 1914, the Allies offered to guarantee the independence of Turkey, if the Turks would keep out of the war. All things yielded to the winning of the war, and the material gains that would follow.

The course of events compelled a widening of vision, and the employment of the dictionary of moral and spiritual emotions. The evidence in the six stout volumes of Russo-French-British diplomatic interchanges—the publication of which the Soviets facilitated—the information in German military reports, and other political data, reveal the prosaic, matter-of-fact self-interest which guided the carving up of Asia Minor. The world had undergone a thousand changes since the Romans first entered the country, but the lure of Palestine had not weakened.

The French wanted it, and in their cold, precise and logical manner they did not give up hope of possession till the Peace Conference was in session.

The British wanted so much of Palestine as vitally interested them, and they were determined that France should not own it.

Hussein, the Arab chief of Mecca, wanted Syria and Palestine much as Mohammad, twelve centuries before.

Though they came late in the diplomatic game, the Italians wanted a share in the administrative pie, and access to the Palestinian ports.

A group of Americans, sponsors for institutions that had invested forty millions in educational, religious and philanthropic institutions in the Near East, Persia, Turkey and Armenia, wanted to administer the whole area. But they did not discover this urge till some time in 1918.

The Jews wanted Palestine, as frankly as they had been praying and hoping for its possession since 135.

The Germans wanted it. The loss of Mecca through the Arab revolt, and the fall of Baghdad, were great blows to the Germans. When von Falkenhayn in Constantinople read von Frankenberg's report of the situation in Palestine he was deeply perturbed. "Under all circumstances we must hold Jerusalem, otherwise we are completely defeated," was his comment.⁷

The Jews stood alone in wanting no more, no less, than Palestine, and wanting it for its own sake. All other desires for Palestine were bound up in some larger vision of empire.

The circumstance as well as occasion of the quests differed.

The Germans had gained their hold in northern Asia Minor by the laying of four thousand kilometers of the Baghdad railroad. In the stalemate of 1916 they were contemplating the "back fire" that might be produced against the Allies by some kind of recognition of the Zionist claims.*

Just prior to the war, France had obtained a concession to build a railroad from Rayah to Jerusalem, which was to connect with the Jerusalem-Jaffa railroad at Ramleh. France was to develop the ports of Haifa and Jaffa, and under her lead a Belgian syndicate was to develop the mineral wealth of the Dead Sea.⁸ She had control of the Maronites in the Lebanon; she desired Palestine to round out a territory which would include Cilicia and all of Syria. Her publicists and the diplomats of the Foreign Office were in thorough accord that Palestine was an integral part of Syria, and should not be divorced from it.

England wanted of Palestine, Haifa and Acre for what Lord Kitchener, in 1877, described as "the railhead" of a road leading to Baghdad, which she also wanted, and which would bring her to the Persian Gulf. This she proposed to protect by holding the coastal vilayets.

III

In the great game of imperial Oriental aggrandizement, Great Britain easily had the advantage over all other powers in

* Early in 1916 the *Frankfurter Zeitung* observed oracularly: "The valuable structure of Zionist cultural work in which the German Empire must have well founded interest in view of future and very promising trade relations."

resources, experiences, and men in the field. She had both the contacts and the approaches. Her statesmen, however, labored under the difficulties inherent in the management of a far-flung empire inhabited by people of many diverse creeds. Her aim was to win the war. The "Easterners," from the declaration of war, were convinced that it could be won by creating what Earl Grey euphemistically termed "internal complications" in the Turkish Empire.⁹ The direct road to intrigue was through Arabia. Great Britain had a large staff familiar with the terrain. Dr. Doughty, who had traversed the deserts; Miss Gertrude Bell, who resided in Mesopotamia; Colonel Lawrence, who had spent years in southern Palestine and could disguise himself as an Arab; Philby, who was more Muslim than Englishman; General MacDonough; Commander D. G. Hogarth and Colonel Storrs, of the Arab Bureau in Cairo; the Anglo-Catholic, Sir Mark Sykes, who knew the East from childhood; and many others like Lord Kitchener, who was in command in Egypt at the outbreak of the war; and Sir Reginald Wingate, in charge of the Egyptian army. Every one of them played a part in Near Eastern war politics.

The British had no high opinion of the peoples east of Suez. They kept the Egyptian Arabs fairly well in hand. Sir Mark Sykes was convinced the "Syrian Arab had long had the knack of falling in with the plans of a successful conqueror."¹⁰

Great Britain held Aden, and from there was subsidizing sixteen Arab protectorates, at an expense of five thousand, nine hundred and forty rupees a month. All of these chiefs had titles, and were accorded honor even when they came to collect their monthly stipends.¹¹ These kings, sheiks and emirs were willing, even anxious to cut one another's throats. During the war they were fighting their individual opponents, incidental to making common cause against the Turks.¹² The British did not regard the Arabic-speaking people of Palestine as Arabs. There was not a single Arab personality in Palestine with whom to negotiate.¹³ Therefore the British turned to Hussein, co-governor of Mecca, who had on his own initiative approached Lord Kitchener. Hussein became "the most imposing personality among the Arab kings of his time . . . also the most

devious in his political methods, the weakest in real authority, and the greatest in cares and sorrow.”¹⁴ Hussein was far from “monarch of all that he surveyed.” He contended with a dozen political rivals, and sons as tractable to British influences as they were ambitious for honors, cash and territory.¹⁵

From India came pressure on London. “Lord Hardinge and the Indian Government were telegraphing, from the natural point of view of their multitudinous Mohammedan subjects, in strong disparagement of any plan to dismember and upset the Ottoman Empire.”¹⁶ The British policy thus was to win the war, to gain territory, to create a buffer against France, and to do something which would prove to the Muslims that their interests were not neglected.

The defect in this policy was as old as Roman imperialism. Englishmen were speaking for Muslim India. Englishmen were speaking for all the varied Arab races, to Englishmen in London. When the British eventually came up against another group, the Jews, who spoke English, and who proposed to represent themselves in negotiations, they were thoroughly baffled. Arab self-expression was also a new and unanticipated experience.

Russia had an advantage peculiar to her geographic position. She wanted very little in the Near East. Her reward was to be Constantinople and the Black Sea. All other considerations were minor.

IV

To Russia on January 10, 1915, the French confirmed that their interest in the Turkish possessions was limited to Syria and Palestine, but it was necessary to bear in mind that no one power could expect to rule in Palestine.¹⁷ The French view never varied. France yielded under pressure, but even after the armistice in December, 1918, M. Clemenceau asked that Palestine, instead of being placed under an international régime, should be awarded to France.

Time and experience had taught each of the powers circumspection in demands. Thus Earl Grey on March 3, 1915,¹⁸ told the Russian Ambassador Benckendorff that while he opposed

the discussion of the division of Turkey, because it was not yet conquered, "England had no aspirations to any part of Asia Minor or Syria, excepting a few points on the Persian Gulf." The British at this time¹⁹ were anxious to have it understood that they desired "that the Muslim Holy Places and Arabia should be conducted under independent Muslim rule." This they proposed to proclaim if it were announced that Russia would come into possession of Constantinople. The British thought there should be a Muslim Arab state. The Russians answered, "Let it be so."

Lawrence's intrigue had started in Arabia. The British notified their associates of the broad fact, of their hopes, and of the understandings they were arranging with the Sherif of Mecca, and later of the beginning of the Arab revolt.

The Arab revolt was slow in coming. The Russians reported another plan. They had it on good Armenian authority that Turkey might be crushed by engaging Djemal Pasha, Governor of Syria, to organize a revolution. Djemal's price was the Sultanate for himself and his eldest son, and a promise of financial aid, once he was in power. M. Sazonoff believed he was well informed, for he sent this news to his principal ambassadors.²⁰ Grey mulled it over. The French hesitated. The Djemal demands included the independence of Syria, Palestine, Mesopotamia, Arabia, Armenia, Cilicia and Kurdistan.²¹

To treat with Djemal on these terms meant relinquishing Syria and the part of Palestine which had been guaranteed to the French.²² Russia would get Constantinople; the British were negotiating with the Sherif of Mecca for an independent Arabian caliphate. The French implied, but they did not state, that they were unwilling to suffer so much loss without compensation. Russia persisted in the desirability of attempting to come to terms with Djemal or his agents. Grey admitted "the importance of overcoming Turkish opposition by the road of internal complications."²³ He did not believe Djemal was able to act in opposition to the Arabs, and the British were negotiating with them.

The French opposition broke down. They were willing to negotiate with Djemal if Cilicia, Syria and part of Palestine

were assured them.²⁴ The British fought shy of these negotiations. They advised that the French,²⁵ or the French and the Russians,²⁶ should attempt the negotiations. After a slight pause France notified the Russians, February 9, 1916, that she had accepted the British negotiations with the Arabs for an independent Arab state, "her Syrian interests having been protected."²⁷

The French passed the Djemal intrigue back to Russia. Russia apparently started some activity with an intermediary in Zurich, who reached into Constantinople, but not beyond. There is no evidence in these archives, that any responsible body of Armenians knew of this plan.

V

As the negotiations between the three powers began to shape themselves, the problem of Palestine came more and more to the front. Russia was quite agreeable to France having Cilicia as well as Syria. Did France really include Palestine in Syria? If so, something would have to be done about the Holy Places.²⁸ The French responded immediately to this Russian enquiry²⁹ with a formula, "concerning the Holy Places the Russian and French Governments express themselves in agreement with clause 62 of the Treaty of Berlin." That clause recognizes the French claims over the Latin interests. No Crusading emotion, no Russian claim as to Greek Catholics. Russia was agreeable.³⁰ Iswolski, the Russian Ambassador in Paris, said that Palestine would anyhow fall into the lap of its nearest neighbor. The protection of the Holy Places was the only important problem.

The British, however, came back for their favorite formula.³¹ It was too soon to discuss the carving up of Mesopotamia, Syria and Palestine, the important thing was to consider the need, after the disappearance of the Turks from Constantinople, of establishing a political center for Islam. Arabia would no doubt enter into such a combination. It was worth considering whether such a capital might be established somewhere in Asia Minor, and if so, where? Nothing hectic about this query. Nor was the idea very clear to the Allies. Thereupon the British

disavowed any intention of re-establishing the Caliphate. It had been discussed with the Sherif of Mecca, and the British had decided that the Caliphate was a purely internal Islamic matter.

In March, 1916, there was an inter-Allied conference in Paris, which brought the English Sykes and the French Georges Picot together. France wanted no misunderstanding with Russia, so she sent Picot to Russia; Sykes also went and laid his celebrated colored map of the division of Asia Minor before the Russians. The mystery of his browns, blues and reds, his A's and B's was dispelled by the clear summaries made by the Russian Foreign Office for a Council of the Ministers, and still later reclarified by the Italians, when they put their spoke into the Allied wheel.

The principles of the Sykes-Picot treaty were readily accepted, but the details were discussed in many dispatches. Months elapsed before the document was signed. By the partition of Asia Minor, as Sykes planned it—and some points, vital to Great Britain were reproduced in the McMahon-Hussein correspondence—Russia was to receive the largest slice of Asia Minor, the Black Sea basin. An Arab state, or a federation of Arab states, exclusive of Palestine, was to be established. This Arab territory was to be redivided into two zones. In the blue zone, France was to dominate. In the red zone, Great Britain was to have priority. Loans, exploitation and the appointment of advisers to the Arabs were to be part of this dominance and priority. Iraq, Haifa and Acre were to go to England. Palestine was to be internationally administered.³² Nicholas II. approved. Sazonoff, meditating on the Palestinian phase, and concluding that the guardianship of the Holy Places was the real problem, suggested the area subject to international control might well be whittled down.³³

The Russian frontier problems were restudied, but the general principles were again approved.

On March 13, 1916, while these negotiations were still in progress, the British Ambassador laid before the Russian Minister Grey's message inviting an opinion on the settling of Jews in Palestine, a matter that "had been brought to the notice of

His Majesty's government." There is no reference in the Russian archives to prior British negotiations with the Jews. Russia answered immediately:

"As to Palestine, Russia is willing to approve any project which gives freedom of access to all orthodox institutions and existing rights, and will offer no objection in principle to the settlement of Jewish colonists in the country."³⁴

Although the date of the approval of the Sykes-Picot Treaty is May, 1916, there was no finality about the agreements, for at an Allied Conference held in London September, 1916, the whole issue was rehearsed, the proposed international administration of Palestine repeated, and the other allotments of territory restated.³⁵ A month later Italy demanded participation in the treaty arrangements, and claimed a share in the international administration of Palestine, and free access to Haifa and Acre.

Two protectorates for France and Great Britain was the Russian description, in a War Office memorandum of April 6, 1916, of the plan by which "the whole of former Turkey inhabited by Arabs is to form an Arabian caliphate." The Russians never ceased to use the word caliphate, and the French frequently repeated it. The London conference of September, 1916, however, retained the British definition: "The recognition of an independent Turkish state, or a federation of Arab states under the sovereignty of an Arab ruler under the protection of the powers."³⁶

The alternative here included, "Turkish state," followed upon a series of incidents of which the diplomats took immediate cognizance. Hussein fired his first shot in Mecca, on June 2, 1916, not under compulsion of his agreements with the British, but in self-defense. Djemal had found the French secret dossier in Damascus. He, thereupon, issued proclamations, and executed as many of the Arab ringleaders as he could lay hands on. Hussein did not announce his rebellion until his two sons, Feisal and Abdallah, had safely escaped from Damascus. They were permitted to go because Djemal was successfully fooled as to where Hussein stood politically.³⁷

In September the Arab "back fire" in the desert had pro-

duced no notable repercussions in Turkey. To the contrary, by their victory at Kut, the Turks had triumphed over Christians beyond any victory they had won in two centuries. The Arab experts in London were temporarily out of favor. The powers left themselves, therefore, free to come to terms with Turkey, or a Turk. The war must be won.

VI

In a letter dated July 14, 1915, Hussein named his price to the British: "On the north by Mersina-Adana up to the 37th degree of latitude . . . to the borders of Persia. On the east by the frontiers of Persia to the Gulf of Basra. On the south by the Indian Ocean . . . on the west by the Red Sea and the Mediterranean," almost equal to one-half the land area of the United States.

Sir Henry McMahon could not yield so much. He stripped off what had already been promised to France, all the land west of the line of Damascus, as not being "purely Arab."⁸⁸ Then he put an obscure circle around Palestine: "Great Britain will guarantee the Holy Places against all external aggression and will recognize their individuality"—a cumbersome reference to the French and Russian interests in the Holy Places. With equally meticulous circumlocution the British general detached another slice from the promised Arab state:

"With regard to the vilayets of Baghdad and Basra the Arabs will recognize that the established position and interests of Great Britain necessitate special measures of administrative control, in order to secure these territories from foreign aggression . . . to safeguard our mutual interests."

The Arabs were still left with 173,700 square miles of Arabia, and about fifty thousand square miles of Mesopotamia, which corresponds with the map drawn by Sykes. General McMahon cautiously added another sentence, which runs all through the Russian-Franco-British negotiations with regard to the Arab states:

"It is understood that the Arabs have decided to seek the advice and guidance of Great Britain only, and that such European advisers and officials as may be required for the formation of a sound form of administration will be British."

Eight months elapsed between the McMahon response and the Arab revolt. In this period the Arab claims were whittled down. Neither Hussein's faction nor the British have published the Arab correspondence. Hussein relinquished his claims to Mersina and Adana and agreed that "for a short time" the British could have the Vilayets of Baghdad and Basra, but in consideration of cash.³⁹ He still wanted Aleppo and Beirut. He made no reference to Palestine. Later he exhibited, in Arabic, a five-point agreement, which he claimed he made with Sir Henry McMahon in January, 1916, which ceded all his territorial claims,⁴⁰ and received reconfirmation in a letter dated March 10, 1916.⁴¹

Hussein may have been misled. Neither he nor his sons knew English and his correspondence, as quoted, is in the stilted language of British officialdom. It stresses hostility to France, which is the burden of the British explanation of the imbroglio, the reason given for not ceding Beirut, etc., to Hussein and for the secrecy of the Sykes-Picot treaty.⁴²

The Hussein claims, however, carry on their face, certain improbabilities. The Russian archives for January, 1916, refer to the complete French agreement on the British arrangements with Hussein, the discussion of the internationalization of Palestine, and the British investigation of the Zionist interest in Palestine. In 1917 the Russian Soviets published the Sykes-Picot Treaty. This "led the Turkish government immediately to convey its terms to the King of the Hejaz as incontrovertible proof of British duplicity."⁴³ Hussein protested the loss of Beirut and Aleppo, but his language is one of sadness, not of a man greatly wronged.

The same note is struck in his comment on the loss of Palestine, on the issuance of the Balfour Declaration, November 2, 1917. The best that is claimed for Hussein rendered him impossible as ruler of Beirut, Aleppo and Palestine. He was fanatically religious, deeply persuaded of the importance of the "Surat of the Cow," the religious injunctions of the Koran. The Syrian Muslims were more inclined to the Turkish religious reforms; "a king with a religious bee in his bonnet cannot rule a country so divided by religions and sects as Syria."⁴⁵ He

wanted, with England's support, to become caliph.⁴⁶ He received that office, was proclaimed king, and was so recognized by Great Britain, France and Italy. A much disappointed man, three months before the armistice he proposed to resign,⁴⁷ and finally abdicated in 1924. His every step had been financed with British gold. He took himself out of the political turmoil because his own sons had contributed considerably to the failure of his plans.

VII

In his long, gray, silken robe, edged with scarlet, and his oriental headgear, the Emir Feisal, slim and dandified, was easily the most picturesque personality at the Peace Conference. He made the kind of sensation in Europe, in 1919, the Druze Emir Fahr-ed-Din made at the Italian court, three hundred years before. During the war, Feisal held court at Aqaba, and rode at the head of the troops recruited by Lawrence. The Arab military operations were not impressive. Little attention is given to them either in British or German dispatches. German reports circumstantially relate that British troops captured both Es Salt and Amman. Twenty thousand Arabs in Es Salt had been stirred to revolt. They offered no opposition to the handful of Germans who with Turkish troops commanded the town, and retired only after the British had captured Jericho in 1918.⁴⁸

At that date Lawrence is credited with having organized thirty thousand well-armed warriors, and armed bands, mostly deserters, about equally strong in numbers.⁴⁹ The German admiration for the Bedouins did not embrace the Palestineans. "The low caste Arab recruit . . . is a traitor, liar and deserter by nature."⁵⁰ Such sentiments are plentiful in German war books. But the Germans were equally emphatic in their contempt for Turkish officialdom, and berate its venality, corruption and incapacity.

Feisal, the aspirant for sovereignty over an Arab state under British rule, met the crisis in the war, Allenby's great feint to the east and push up the coast, by an overture to the enemy. General Liman von Sanders relates:

"In the second half of August [1918] I was informed by Djemal Pasha, commander of the Fourth Army, that Sherif Feisal was willing to take over the Jordan front of the Fourth Army with his troops, provided he received definite guarantees from the Turkish government that an Arabian state would be formed; that according to a statement of Feisal a great British attack was in preparation in the coast district, and that in this case the troops of the Fourth Army would become available to reënforce the front between the sea and the Jordan. Through General Kiazim, our Turkish chief of General Staff, I instructed General Djemal Pasha to open negotiations to that effect. In the same way I requested Enver to give the desired guarantees.

"Neither from Enver nor from Djemal did I ever receive information concerning this matter. I am therefore unable to judge of the sincerity or the scope of Feisal's offer."⁵¹

"Zion of the hundred sieges"⁵² excited neither Feisal nor his brother Abdallah, who subsequently was accommodated by the British with the emirate of Trans-Jordan. For the west, Feisal, rather than Hussein, represented the Arab State, and Lawrence's desert conjurings.

In May, 1918, at Aqaba, where he held court and made camp, Dr. Weizmann, as head of the Zionist Commission, discussed with him the Arab-Zionist relations. Aaron Aaronsohn, the agronomist, was Weizmann's interpreter. The Arab Bureau in Cairo and the British government were well represented at that desert conference. Feisal agreed that Palestine was to be the Jewish sphere of influence and development. A federation of Arab states was still in contemplation, and the delimitation of the boundaries of Palestine was discussed. Feisal was anxious to bring the future Jewish State within the Arab federation. Intimate coöperation between the Arab government and the Zionist Organization was considered. The Zionists were to provide political, technical, and financial advisers to the Arabs. He clung to these ideas afterwards. Basic hostility to all the Christian powers characterized father and son.

On the fall of Damascus Feisal's ambition to be a ruler was at once satisfied. His installation as governor at Damascus probably contributed largely to his undoing. The Syrian Muslims were wholly hostile to non-Muslim encroachment. They vented their anger on the French, who charged the British with

being parties to the agitation. Feisal clung to the British, who supplied him with cash, which the French regarded as evidence of British hostility to themselves. The Arabs, on the other hand, viewed M. Georges Picot as an enemy, backed by concession hunters. They feared he was being supported by the American Red Cross Mission, with the Sykes-Picot treaty as an excuse. A rough outline of that treaty was in circulation. At this juncture, Americans everywhere were regarded as having the casting vote.

Like Sykes' display of the Arab flag, Feisal's appointment led to increasing complications in a complex situation. The long military stalemate in Palestine had not increased British prestige. The insignificant French military contribution to the Oriental campaign was public property, and Turkish propaganda was rife. To the latter, Feisal attributed the unrest in Syria, and the stirring of the Palestinians against the Zionist policy.

Immediately on the armistice Feisal was whisked away to London, by the indefatigable Lawrence. The equally persistent Sykes rushed to Damascus before Feisal left for Europe. In London, Feisal was housed in state in the Hotel Carlton, and exhibited to admiring crowds of provincials, to whom he recited texts from the Koran which Lawrence translated into appropriate political speeches. Though the Sykes-Picot arrangement had been made known to his father in 1917, Feisal professed ignorance of it.

Studying the map in London on December 11, 1918, the Emir viewed it as equally dangerous to the Arabs and the Jews. It "pushed the Arabs back into the desert." He was exceedingly perturbed. He knew his government in Damascus was weak. It had neither money, nor men. His army was naked and without ammunition. He approved the Zionist program, which was before him in outline, and which covered the settlement of some four to five million Jews. He looked for American aid to offset French pressure. He met Colonel House in Paris, early in January, 1919.

How much of Feisal's discussions with the British in London was "for the record," in how far he stressed his own viewpoint,

or in how far he suffered as a buffer against the French, is not ascertainable. He assumed that the total disappearance of Russia abrogated the Sykes-Picot agreement, and he raised his demands to the claims originally made by his father in 1915. On the other hand, M. Clemenceau also appeared to think that the Sykes-Picot agreement was in abeyance, for he asked the British to agree to a condominium in Palestine.

This the British bitterly opposed, but they discussed it with the Zionists. The French had no use for Feisal, and when he came to Paris the French press attacked him unmercifully.

During these hectic days in London, Feisal discussed with the Zionists the building of a railroad in Syria, which the Zionists might finance, and he had hopes that if he could not retain Syria, that he would be granted a passage to the sea for his eastern kingdom.

In London on January 3, 1919, Feisal, acting for his father, with Colonel Lawrence as witness and translator, subscribed, in Arabic, to an agreement with the World Zionist Organization. In this document it was stipulated that

"Immediately following the completion of the deliberations of the Peace Conference, the definite boundaries between the Arab State and Palestine shall be determined by a Commission to be agreed upon by the parties thereto."

In recognizing the Zionist claims to Palestine, and in admitting this distinction between Palestine and the Arab state, Prince Feisal wrote:

"If the Arabs are established as I have asked in my manifesto of January 4th addressed to the British Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, I will carry out what is written in this agreement. If changes are made I cannot be held answerable for failing to carry out this agreement."

Feisal appeared before the Supreme Council of the Peace Conference on February 6. In response to a question of President Wilson, he asked for independence of his people and for their right to choose their own mandatory.⁵³ According to a confidential report he likened the conference to a typical caravan—a string of camels led by an ass. When chided with lack

of appreciation for French aid in winning the enfranchisement of the Arabs, he answered sarcastically that he and his father were deeply thankful for the gun the French had contributed to the campaign. His tart language fluttered the political doves. More to the point was his demand that the Arabs wanted "an independence in no wise limited by the Allies, except as the Arabs themselves might ask assistance."⁵⁴

On March 3, he publicly exchanged letters with Professor Felix Frankfurter, agreeing "there is room in Syria for us both," and reverting to coöperation between the Arabs and the Zionists. Feisal returned to Damascus, but came back again in September to Europe. The shifts in policy—he was ruling Damascus under French supervision, and dependent on a French subsidy—were beyond him. However, he remained loyal to his pro-Zionist engagements. Badgered by the French, and misinterpreted by some Jews in England, he took occasion in November, 1919, to write publicly to Sir Herbert Samuel, apropos of the celebration of the second anniversary of the Balfour Declaration, of his anxiety to "maintain between us that harmony so necessary for the success of our common cause."

VIII

The British public mind was not unfamiliar with Zionist aims. From 1840, Englishmen actually preceded Jews in advocating Jewish Restoration as a political measure. Some of the best definitions of Zionism were penned by English writers as far apart as George Eliot and Laurence Oliphant. It is believed that the unpublished records of the British Foreign Office include a plan for the resettlement of the Jews in Palestine drafted by Benjamin Disraeli and presented by him to the King of France during the Crimean War. An archive of memorials, petitions, etc., exist, covering the period 1890 to 1903. In 1900 the English Zionists circularized all the candidates for parliamentary honors.⁵⁵

The Premier, Mr. Asquith, discussed the Zionist aims with Mr. Herbert Samuel in 1914.⁵⁶ Mr. Asquith was not sympathetic, but he did not ignore the suggestion.⁵⁷ The British initiative was next recorded in the Foreign Office dispatch to

Russia, already quoted, and which reached Petrograd during the Sykes-Picot negotiations in March, 1916. The Zionist leaders in London began informal discussions with British Foreign Office officials in October, 1916.⁵⁸ Formal negotiations in which Sykes represented England, and Picot the French, began in London in February, 1917.⁵⁹ Sykes and Picot, who apportioned northern Asia Minor to Russia, and drew their chalk lines across the rest of the country, deliberately helped to shape the policy and phraseology of Weizmann, Sokolow and Tschlenow, who were empowered to act for the World Zionist Organization.

The Zionist difficulty was not with the statesmen of the Allied Powers. Their struggle was against the Jewish anti-Zionists who opposed the theory and practice of Jewish nationalism. One of their ablest leaders, Mr. Edwin Montagu, had a seat in the War Cabinet from which he could thwart Zionist aims. When that failed, the British-Jewish anti-Zionists issued in May, 1917, a public protest, to which the Zionists responded. The Zionist quest for Palestine, the character of the Zionist demand, and the alliance with Great Britain and subsequently with all the other allied and associated powers was perhaps of all war policies the only case in which an "open covenant" was "openly arrived at."

The British did not move hastily in their definition of Zionist policy. At the end of March, 1917,⁶⁰ there was issued by the War Office Department a War Aims Book, in which a five-point program, a constructive plan, was set forth "for a resettlement of Palestine in accordance with Jewish National Aspirations." This plan, which included the grant of a charter for Palestine to the Zionists, was on all fours with the negotiations then pending. One repercussion was that in April the Russian Foreign Office directed its *chargé d'affaires* in London to transmit all available information on the organizations "which seek an independent Jewish State in Palestine." In this as in all other versions of Near Eastern problems the Russians were bluntly clear. On May 2, M. Nabakow reported on the status and personalities of the Zionist Organization.⁶¹

Several political writers have referred to the German and Turkish overtures to the German Zionists as having intensified

the British decision to declare in favor of the Zionist aims. Taalat Pasha, who was Grand Vizir of Turkey, is said to have contemplated some declaration in May, 1917; ⁹² Temperley mentions German activity in the same direction in September, 1917. ⁹³ If this is so, the facts did not reach American Zionist ears then or since. Some vague references to the matter are traceable in the pro-German press in America, in 1916.

After the Peace Conference it transpired that a German headquarters for approaching Jews had been maintained in Switzerland during the war, but of its efforts nothing is known. The Allies were impressed with the desirability of an alliance with the Zionists after the Russian revolution of March, 1917. They realized that with Russia out of the war, the mass of east European Jews everywhere could freely side with the Allies, which they would not do as long as Allied victory implied Russian advance. The soundest British motive was, however, the oldest and the simplest. British military officers foresaw it in 1877—Haifa as the railhead of the road to India. It would, they then argued, be safer and cheaper to have that railhead in the control of a neutral people, and they knew of only one possible group of neutrals, the Jews.

In the spring of 1917 the war propaganda everywhere assumed an idealistic tinge. America having come into the war, Mr. Balfour on his official visit in May, 1917, to the United States made his pro-Zionist position clear. On June 4, M. Cambon committed France "to the renaissance of the Jewish nationality in that Land from which the people of Israel were exiled so many centuries ago."

On July 18, Lord Rothschild submitted a draft-text to the British government. By this date, owing to the Jewish opposition, the verbal niceties of a declaration were being struggled over in the War Cabinet. The Zionists in England were pressing for a public avowal of policy by the British, largely to disconcert their opponents. The leverage for forcing action was in the United States. Therefore both directly and indirectly every phase of these negotiations passed through the hands of Colonel House and President Wilson. The British acted with circumspection.

By September 19, "the following text declaration had been

approved by the Foreign Office and the Prime Minister, and submitted to the War Cabinet:

"(1) H. M. Government accepts the principle that Palestine should be reconstituted as the national home of the Jewish people.

"(2) H. M. Government will use its best endeavors to secure the achievement of the object and will discuss the necessary methods and means with the Zionist Organization."

President Wilson approved this text, and the French and Italian governments were informed of this fact. The Jewish anti-Zionist struggle in the British Cabinet produced on October 10, 1917, another formula. The text forwarded to President Wilson stated:

"The Cabinet after preliminary discussion suggest following amended formula: His Majesty's Government view with favor the establishment in Palestine of a National Home for the Jewish race and will use its best endeavors to facilitate the achievement of this object, it being clearly understood that nothing shall be done which may prejudice the civil and religious rights of existing non-Jewish communities in Palestine or *the rights and political status enjoyed in any other country by such Jews who are fully contented with their existing nationality and citizenship.*" *

The American Zionist leaders who were also furnished with a copy, objected to the last clause because "it places Zionism on a principle of discontent, which is most undesirable." They therefore proposed to Colonel House on October 15 to limit the final clause (italicized above) to read "Or the rights and political status enjoyed by Jews in any other country."

On October 17, President Wilson cabled his approval of this formula, and on November 2, Mr. Balfour issued it as a "Declaration of sympathy with Jewish Zionist aspirations." Within a few months all the allied governments publicly approved the declaration. President Wilson twice voiced his approval of the Balfour Declaration, and the Zionist aims, publicly. In August, 1918, on the approach of the Jewish New Year, he addressed a letter to Dr. Stephen S. Wise, and in March, 1919, he responded equally emphatically to the delegation which waited upon him at the White House.

The British public reaction to the Balfour Declaration was

*The italics are ours.

remarkably unanimous, high-spirited, idealistic, and all embracing. The response in the United States and elsewhere was no less excellent; the British war propaganda published a number of booklets on the public approval of the Declaration, and on conditions in Palestine. The temper and tone of England was pro-Zionist. On the part of the Zionists three overt steps were taken, in full agreement with the British: The recruiting for the Jewish Legion, in Great Britain, Canada and the United States; the sending of the Zionist Commission to Palestine; and the laying of the foundation stone of the Hebrew University in Jerusalem on Mount Olivet.

The Zionist-Feisal conferences in Palestine have been described, as well as the agreements exchanged in London. The prospects for the Zionists at the Armistice were exceedingly bright. They had in America the avowed support of President Wilson and Colonel House; in England the personal interest of Mr. Balfour and Lord Robert Cecil, General Smuts, Lord Milner, and the Labor men in the government. In addition, they had the sheaf of official declarations from Great Britain to Japan. Nevertheless, they exercised every precaution. The French aims in Syria were no secret, and the opposition of French Jews, of American anti-Zionists, and of a non-Jewish group who with the aid of Mr. Henry Morgenthau were playing with Syrian Christians, had to be taken into account. The American Zionist delegation sent to London was headed by Dr. Stephen S. Wise, and augmented from time to time by Professor Felix Frankfurter, Bernard Flexner and the writer. The delegation of the American Jewish Congress to the Peace Conference, headed by the late Louis Marshall and Judge Julian W. Mack, was perhaps the most inclusive Jewish group that ever left these shores on a mission. All were pledged to the Zionist policy.

The difficulties with the Arab-speaking people of Palestine were foreseen, but the details of the Sykes-Picot treaty and the Hussein-McMahon correspondence were not known. Above all, the Zionists sought clarity as to the rights that were to be granted them in Palestine. Early in December there was submitted to Mr. Balfour a statement, which he approved, as follows:

"an unfettered development of the Jewish National Home in Palestine—not mere facilities for colonization, but opportunities for carrying out colonizing activity, public works, etc., on a large scale, so that we should be able to settle in Palestine about four to five million Jews within a generation, and so make Palestine a Jewish country."

An American Zionist memorandum drawn up at this time defined the Jewish need as, Palestine from the Litani River to the southern side of El Arish, including the Desert of the Wanderings and Aqaba. "To draw the country down instead of up means to limit the possibility of quarrels with the Syrians, the Arabs, the French, and the like," and it therefore foreshadowed as most desirable a five-year policy of confining agricultural development and industrial expansion to the line south of Gaza, from Sinai to Aqaba, inclusive.

In the light of events, these sentences from the advice given the American delegation on its departure for London are interesting:

"The neutral Jewish status of Palestine means freedom of action in the direction of settlement and emigration. We can tell the Jews to go to their Homeland. We will give no political offense in doing this, but it will be difficult to preach . . . 'go to British Palestine.' Ormsby Gore evidently sees this when he suggests a Jewish passport."

In London the ruins of the Sykes-Picot treaty still cumbered the earth. The French wanted Palestine, but they were willing to accept a condominium. The British were aghast. They relied on the Jews, and on President Wilson, to provide the necessary brake to French ambitions. The American-Jewish Congress on December 16, 1918, provided the British with reassurance. The representatives of three million Jews demanded

"such political administrative and economic conditions as will assure under the trusteeship of Great Britain acting on behalf of such League of Nations as may be formed the development of Palestine into a Jewish Commonwealth."

Two million Austro-Hungarian Jews voiced the same views. At that date, "Jewish Commonwealth" was popular in London. The French were pressed back. In the draft statement which the Zionists prepared in London in January, 1919, for submis-

sion to the Peace Conference, they still translated National Home into Jewish Commonwealth. A process of whittling the phraseology was, under British tutelage, engaged upon, so that the statement of February 3, the final document which was presented to the Supreme Council of the Peace Conference on February 26, spoke of the establishment in Palestine "of the Jewish National Home and ultimately render possible the creation of an autonomous Commonwealth." The boundaries described in the final document corresponded to those already mentioned. At the formal hearing given the Zionist leaders, the members of the Supreme Council not only listened approvingly to the Zionist claims, but they showed marked displeasure at the arguments advanced by a French-Jewish anti-Zionist.

IX

The discussion by the Supreme Council of the Peace Conference of the main question, whether the Covenant of the League of Nations should be incorporated in the Treaty, provided an interlude for all those keen as to territorial arrangements. On March 20 the Council of Four debated the division of the Turkish mandates. This provided an occasion for reference to the viewpoint of a non-Jewish-American group. Acting in alliance with a group of Syrians in New York City, who towards the end of 1918 were carrying on an obscure agitation for Syrian rights, Mr. Henry Morgenthau, Dr. James L. Barton and others associated in the Near Eastern Relief work, conceived the idea of putting the whole of Asia Minor, from the Black Sea to the Indian Ocean, from the Mediterranean to the Persian Gulf, in charge of an American group of social workers, who were willing and capable of raising one hundred million dollars for economic development, and other purposes necessary to the conduct of their proposed administration, and enterprises in this vast territory.

William H. Hall, missionary and teacher, who served in the American College at Beirut, in outlining his plan,** stressed the existence of oil in the Near East, and the economic advantages of natural resources located within two hundred miles of the coast. He proposed:

"the formation of an American syndicate which shall buy up the privilege of reorganizing the present Turkish Empire. My purpose is humanitarian, but it is to be organized on a strictly business basis. I believe that financially it can be made to pay legitimate dividends. . . . I propose the formation of a company which shall raise say one hundred million dollars."

The syndicate was to be incorporated by the United States Government, with which it was to deposit cash at four per cent. interest, as an act of good faith. The government was to guarantee the corporation bonds. Mr. Hall definitely proposed:

"1. The present area of the Ottoman Empire, exclusive of Arabia which has problems of its own, shall be preserved intact.

"2. After the removal of the present group of officials who constitute the Turkish government, let the Peace Conference appoint a commission which shall have the task of supervising the reorganization of the government.

"3. The reorganization commission shall be backed by one country rather than by an international commission."

This plan, which now sounds fantastic, was seriously sponsored by Dr. Barton, chief of the Near Eastern Missions, by Mr. Henry Morgenthau, and the wealthy and influential group associated in religious, educational, and relief work in the Near East. Elaborated, and carefully detailed, it was printed and privately circulated as "Recommendations for Political Reconstruction in the Turkish Empire."

The *New York Evening Post*²⁵ voiced its astonishment:

"That the chief advocates of keeping alive the old administrative unit of Turkey and refusing to recognize the natural rights of the oppressed races are now to be found among Americans. . . . That plank of this well-defined and strongly backed program which worries the subject races of Turkey most is the one which provides that there shall be no division into autonomous states of the former Turkish empire, but that the whole shall be administered by this American syndicate. . . . The Armenians feel that the Americans should be the last to attempt imposition of a financial altruistic régime upon them, one that links them up with the hated Turk in Anatolia."

The Palestine administration was much perturbed by the presence of the American Red Cross Unit, which proposed the immediate erection of a drainage system for Jerusalem. That

plan was side-tracked only by the exercise of considerable political pressure. The more ambitious plan, for social and economic control of the Near East, amazed Downing Street. Abandoning his usual suavity, Mr. Balfour bluntly asked whether Dr. Barton proposed to hand Armenia back to Turkey.

The American Near East missionary interests would naturally have disclaimed any such motive, but they were not unsympathetic to the Turks who had given them free access to their subject peoples. The conversion of the various sects of primitive Christians to some form of American Christianity was the goal of the missions. They had, therefore, come to regard the people of the Near East as their wards and pupils. A free Armenia, a free Syria, and a free Judea spelt doom for these hopes. Nor could they hope for great triumph in a French-mandated Syria, or a British-mandated Palestine. The Armenians, being stubborn in their own faith, were quickly abandoned by their American friends.

The flaw in the plan was that it called for the exercise of an American mandate. President Wilson wanted a free Armenia, but he shrank from accepting a mandate over that country. The still larger authority envisaged in the Hall-Barton plan could therefore not have appealed to him. He yielded only to the wishes of the sponsoring group, when it pressed upon him the advisability of ascertaining the wishes of the population of Syria and Palestine, in accordance with his own theory of "self-determination." This is the origin of the King-Crane Commission, which spent two months in Syria and Palestine, and needlessly stirred the emotions and ambitions of the population. The European powers consented to the sending of the Commission but took no part in it. The definite partition of the Near East was arranged on May 7, before the Commission reached Syria.⁶⁶ It reported the Syrians anti-French, and the Palestineans anti-Zionist, and still favored America accepting a mandate.⁶⁷ The official suppression of the King-Crane report was probably the only way of ending the situation created by the appointment of the commission.

Like Sykes' Arab flag, and Feisal's temporary authority in Damascus, the King-Crane Commission was one of those unreal and untimely gestures that hurt most those whose inter-

ests were presumed to be best served by such acts. It can be set down, unhesitatingly, that much of the ferment that has marred the Near East during the last decade is the reaction to thoughtless and heedless western methods, and intrusion into local affairs. The east credits the west with a purposefulness it wholly lacks. No Oriental is prepared to believe that what look like significant acts are even in their initial stages without deliberate motivation and definite purpose.

The author was in Damascus just prior to Lord Balfour's visit to Palestine to open the Hebrew University on Mount Scopus in 1925. There was no question in the local Arab mind that Lord Balfour was coming to Palestine for a distinct political purpose, and that the opening of a school was merely the excuse for his presence in the country.

Palestine was brought within the Twenty-second Clause of the Covenant of the League of Nations. The announcement of the adoption of that clause, by which the Turkish and German possessions were to be administered by mandatories, and not given away, was regarded at the time as the break with the traditions of imperial aggrandizement. At least in one aspect, the world was to have a new face.⁸⁸ The Zionists breathed freely. Their problem, from now on, was the terms of the mandate.

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CHAPTER XXIII

POST-WAR CONFLICTS—1919 TO 1922

AT the celebrated secret session of the Big Four in Lloyd George's rooms in Paris, on March 20, 1919, in answering President Wilson's proposal to send a commission to the Near East to discover "the desires of the population," M. Clemenceau approved the idea but asked for guarantees in advance.¹ To this demand there was no response. That ended the history of the King-Crane Commission at the Peace Conference. Considering the vast number and intricate character of the problems which the Allied and Associated Powers attempted to dispose of before the Peace Treaty was handed to the Germans for acceptance, progress in the settlement of Near Eastern affairs proceeded rapidly. But as was well observed during the conflict: "The root of the present plague is in Asia Minor, and the first and the last aim of the War is the solution of the Eastern Question."

The fate of Palestine, Syria and Mesopotamia had been settled when category "A" of the mandated areas was devised, for it was expressly framed to meet the problem of these countries. The question that remained outstanding was the disposition of the mandates. This, too, was largely theoretical. France was in Syria, and despite General Foch, whose politico-military theories were strictly confined to iron control of Germany, the French were determined to remain in Syria. Great Britain was in military control of both Mesopotamia and Palestine, and had not the vaguest intention of budging from either country. For a moment, President Wilson toyed with the possibility of America assuming a mandate over Armenia, but the only group in the United States capable of exercising a real influence in that direction would never have accepted the Armenians on their own terms.

By a convention signed on September 15, 1919, the British ceded to the French control of Syria and Cilicia. That decision clarified the ownership of the two other class "A" mandates, and barred Feisal's hope for a corridor to the sea. As the transfer from Occupied Enemy Territory to mandated area was not immediately, Feisal remained theoretically ruler of Damascus; under French direction when he faced west, and under British supervision when he faced east. Bewildered, he hurried to Europe, where Lloyd George repeated old promises. In the meantime the Turks made an incursion on the northern border, and in January, 1920, they formally protested the loss of the provinces. The provocative attitude of the Syrians, however, gave the French much more concern. The Syrian population were hostile to French rule. In January, 1920, Feisal returned to Damascus, and supported by a conference of notables, on March 11, proclaimed himself king. The British declined to recognize the new monarch. The Syrians on May 19, rejected the French mandate and on July 25, the French deposed Feisal, divided Syria into five provinces, and governed the country with military aid till 1925, when the Syrians rose. Then a new form of administration was devised. The practical leverage of French power in Syria was, and remains, the Maronite community. A century of assiduous cultivation of this element of the population yielded fruit.

When General Allenby addressed the secret session of the Supreme Council on the probabilities of Near Eastern sentiment, he guessed wrong. Real difficulty was experienced in forcing the British Mandate on Mesopotamia. Here there was no divided population, and British diplomacy for half a century had confined itself to treating with individuals. The award of the Mesopotamian mandate to Great Britain in April, 1920, was contested in May by a rising of the population. The rebellion which lasted from July 2 to October 17, 1920, cost 8,450 Arab and 876 British lives. In addition, 1,222 British soldiers were wounded. Nevertheless, the British persisted in their plans, a council of state was created, and on July 11, 1921, Feisal was made King of Iraq.

II

The struggle in Palestine took a different turn, and it has not at the date of writing come to an end. In Syria and in Mesopotamia the opposition to any mandatory was clearly expressed. Verbalities apart, the Muslims of Palestine were as much opposed as the Syrians and the Egyptians to foreign Christian rule. Historically, this is not a new viewpoint. From the days of Alexander the Near and Middle East have only yielded to the mailed fist of the western conqueror. The World War merely provided a slogan, "self-determination."

Judging by all that has happened east of Port Said, the war taught the East contempt for western prowess, but inspired it with fear of western mechanical contrivances for slaughter. The existence, in the East, of that patriotism which is the basis of nationalism may well be doubted, the existence of real religious Islamic unity may be questioned, but there is wide, and specific, aversion to western rule.

The mandating of Palestine for the especial reason of securing "the gradual establishment in Palestine of a National Home for the Jewish People," set up a distinct problem. It brought in a third party—the Jews. The presence of the Zionists created much more than a natural equilateral triangle—indigenous population, Jews and British. In neither Syria, Mesopotamia, nor Palestine were the local populations concerned, or consulted as to the terms of mandates, or boundaries.

To the Zionists these were matters of grave concern. For nearly three years they labored to induce British officialdom to agree to their social and economic concepts. The only Zionist gain was the acknowledgment of the historic connection of the Jews with Palestine. Ninety-nine per cent. of what they sought to accomplish in the direction of social justice, equitable laws, and graduated processes of emancipation for the whole population was thrown into the discard. All of it was too radical for the Great Britain of 1919-1922. The struggle over the boundaries lasted till the winter of 1920. In this the British policy is still inexplicable, unless we assume that possession of Haifa, for harbor purposes, was the only thing that mattered.

The Sykes-Picot agreement apparently still cumbered the earth. Lloyd George could think of nothing more than "from Dan to Beersheba" on the popular raised map of Palestine. The Zionists exercised extraordinary pressure in order to create a Palestine economically feasible. From his sick bed, at their urgency, President Wilson pleaded with the British Cabinet. The response was the adjournment of the issue. The serious problems were securing to Palestine the Jordan watershed in the north, and, for economic reasons, to establish the southern border at an historic line, "the River of Egypt," more prosaically at the line of the wadi El Arish. There was at that date no thought of dividing Palestine at the line of the Jordan, and it was understood that Trans-Jordan would run east to the Hejaz railroad. The southern boundary is an imaginary line at Rafa. In the north, Dan was brought within the confines of Palestine. The agreement made on December 3, 1920, between Lloyd George and M. Leygues contained, however, this proviso:

"Palestine is to be guaranteed the right to utilize the upper Jordan and the Yarmuk and its affluents both for irrigation and power development. The necessary technical arrangements including the right of afforestation will be worked out on the spot by the French, Zionist, and British technicians."

But for this agreement the hydro-electrification of the Jordan, then already in prospect, could not have been attempted. Thus while the Zionists claimed preferential treatment on the basis of the original Balfour Declaration, they were thinking of and visualizing Palestine as a whole.

The general policy of the British administration during the interregnum that followed the armistice has been described. The Jewish Battalions, which had been induced to come overseas to fight for Palestine, were treated with scant consideration. In the summer of 1919 Justice Brandeis, the writer and a British Foreign Office attaché, visited Palestine. In Paris, on the outgoing journey, Mr. Balfour gave the Justice every assurance of his seeing eye to eye with the Zionists. In Egypt the visitors found General Allenby indifferent to Foreign Office policies, whether they concerned Arab interests or promises to

the Jews. The repercussions of the King-Crane Commission were met in Palestine. The population was naturally restive, and all sorts of interpretations were evolved from the American investigation. Jewish complaints of British hostility were almost overwhelming. In order to make representations to Mr. Balfour, the Justice's trip was cut short. In Paris, Mr. Balfour acted promptly. But the bureaucratic system was against him. A year later the complaints were no less serious.*

To counteract the Jewish advance the Christians were gradually united with the Muslims. The muddy waters of religious intrigue were stirred against the Jews.^a There is little doubt that outside aid was given in organizing this alliance. The attack on the Jews in Jerusalem came almost simultaneously with the formal award of the mandate for Palestine, at San Remo on April 24, 1920.

In the award of the mandate, Great Britain was made

"responsible for putting into effect the Declaration originally made on November 2, 1917, by the government in favor of the establishment of a National Home for the Jewish people, subject to the conditions included in the Declaration itself."

To give character and color to the acceptance of this unique responsibility Sir Herbert Samuel was appointed first High Commissioner of Palestine. His appointment had long been forecast. He had taken an active part in all the negotiations between the Zionists and the British government, and he had been a member of several Liberal Cabinets. The compliment to himself and the Jews seemed fitting. The non-Jews in Palestine immediately began to organize their objections to the new régime.

On July 1, 1920, the British flag was hoisted over Jerusalem. Sir Herbert Samuel was inducted into office on July 7. A large assembly, including notables from Southern Palestine, attended at Government House, on the Mount of Olives.

The large Assembly Hall was gorgeously decorated with Oriental embroideries, tapestries, and carpets, and was divided into five sections for Jerusalem, Jaffa, Hebron, Gaza and Beer-

* See Chapter XXI.

sheba delegates respectively. The hall was crowded, an impressive display of color being provided by the picturesque and varied costumes of the Allied consuls, military officers, ecclesiastical dignitaries, Grand Rabbis (including the Grand Rabbi of Egypt clothed in scarlet, purple, and blue), Patriarchs, the Grand Mufti, white-turbaned Mullahs, the directors and representatives of the Jewish colonies, and Jerusalem society, turbaned village peasants and sheiks, effendis and members of the native aristocracy, Bedouin Sheiks in flowing robes of purple with silver headgear from the Arab camps at Beersheba, with a sprinkling of khaki and red tabs, and finally a few ladies belonging to influential Jerusalem circles.

The band played the British National Anthem and the procession entered the Assembly Hall, headed by two former British Consular Kawasses, clad in blue and gold oriental costumes with silver-sheathed Damascus swords and silver sceptres. Next followed Colonel Popham, Acting Governor of Jerusalem, and then, walking abreast, his A. D. C. and Private Secretary; then Colonel Storrs, Governor of Jerusalem and the Acting Civil Secretary, and lastly the High Commissioner in a white diplomatic uniform with purple sash, decorations and a sword. Begging all to be seated, Sir Herbert Samuel read in English, and with great solemnity there was translated into Hebrew and Arabic,

THE KING'S MESSAGE

"To the people of Palestine:

"The Allied Powers whose arms were victorious in the late war have entrusted to my country a Mandate to watch over the interests of Palestine and to ensure to your country that peaceful and prosperous development which has so long been denied to you.

"I recall with pride the large part played by my troops under the command of Field Marshal Lord Allenby in freeing your country from Turkish rule, and I shall rejoice indeed if I and my people can also be instruments for bringing within your reach the blessings of a wise and liberal administration.

"I desire to assure you of the absolute impartiality with which the duties of the Mandatory Power will be carried out, and of the determination of my Government to respect the rights of every race and creed represented among you, both in the period which has still

to elapse before the terms of the Mandate can be finally approved by the League of Nations and in the future when the Mandate has become an accomplished fact.

"You are well aware that the Allied and Associated Powers have decided that measures shall be adopted to secure the gradual establishment in Palestine of a National Home for the Jewish People. These measures will not in any way affect the civil or religious rights or diminish the prosperity of the general population of Palestine.

"The High Commissioner, whom I have appointed to carry out these principles, will, I am confident, do so whole-heartedly and effectively, and will endeavor to promote in every possible way the welfare and unity of all classes and sections among you.

"I realize profoundly the solemnity of the trust involved in the government of a country which is sacred alike to Christian, Mohammedan and Jew, and I shall watch with deep interest and warm sympathy the future progress and development of a State whose history has been of such tremendous import to the world."

III

From the moment the High Commissioner and his legal secretary, who afterwards became Attorney General for Palestine, Mr. Norman Bentwich, took office, Orders in Council began to be promulgated. These Orders in Council and the Crown Colony code provided the authorization and the method for procedure. Accordingly, the administration in October, 1920, made its first attempt to establish an advisory council. All efforts of this kind were met by the formal acquiescence of the Jews, and the active hostility of the Arabic element. Three Arab congresses were held between February and the early summer of 1921 in Palestine. They voiced, almost in the same form, their objections both to the substance and method of British rule in Palestine. Scores of similar petitions, resolutions, and remonstrances have been promulgated since. This opposition was gradually supported by a group in England. The first important British objection to the Zionist plan was raised by Sir W. Joynson-Hicks on September 6, 1921.

In Palestine, therefore, the resistance to the mandatory power found the Balfour Declaration a handy weapon. As it justified the presence of the British, so its nullification would automatically end British rule in the country. The British

clung, therefore, to the text, and the non-Jews to their demands for its abandonment. The Jews being the beneficiaries of the Homeland idea, all measures of hostility took the forms of attacks on them. Instead of uprising against the mandatory, as in Syria and Mesopotamia, the overt acts have been against the Jews.

In May, 1921, the Arabs rose in Jaffa. Twenty-eight Arabs and forty-seven Jews were killed; seventy-three Arabs and one hundred forty-six Jews were wounded. In addition, twenty Arabs were killed at Petach Tikvah, for the riots spread to the Jewish agricultural settlements. An enquiry was held. The fact cannot be blenched that the belief existed in Palestine that British officials abetted this disturbance. A novel, only slightly veiled as to persons and incidents, written by an Anglo-Jewish barrister, Horace Samuel, makes the charges circumstantially.⁴

The substance of British dominion had been established; the formula of authority, the text of the mandate, was still under debate. Neither this delay nor the riots diminished the anxiety of both Jews and Arabs to settle in Palestine. The former came from all parts of the world, the latter from the Hejaz. The increase in population by 1922 was a notable factor.

In the spring of 1922 a Muslim-Christian delegation went to London and struggled hard with Winston Churchill, who had become Colonial Secretary, for redress. Sir Herbert Samuel drew up a long document, which being signed by Mr. Churchill has since become known as the Churchill White Paper. It endeavored to clarify the presumed ambiguities in the Balfour Declaration by stating that

"the terms of the Declaration referred to do not contemplate that Palestine as a whole should be converted into a Jewish National Home, but that such a Home should be founded in Palestine."

This in no wise placated the Arabs. All their protests to the Permanent Mandates Commission of the League of Nations are of the same tenor, varying only according to contemporary incidents. The Zionist leaders were induced to approve the Churchill White Paper, prior to its issuance, which preceded the publication of the Mandate in its final form by a few days.

By their acquiescence the Jews lost something which the Arabs did not acquire. On July 24, 1922, the terms of the mandate for Palestine were approved by the Council of the League of Nations.

The Mandatory system has been fruitful in one respect. In the language of the Permanent Mandates Commission annually "the accredited representative of the mandatory Power" comes "to the table of the Commission" and reports. The Commission receives and considers all the protests and other reports that reach it. The juridically minded might find that in some minor particular the special provisions in the actual text of the mandate have been put into operation.

Opposing the whole scheme the Arabs were pouring into Palestine,¹ according to their needs and circumstances. Vocally dissatisfied with the policy of the administration, the Jews, too, were immigrating. The currents of immigration have since risen and fallen, largely in response to extraneous economic conditions. But the filling of the land has continued steadily.

The lure of Palestine has not waned, it waxeth.

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